# Sir John Wentworth and his times

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## INTRODUCTION.

Few periods in colonial history have been more closely studied than that which immediately preceded the outbreak of the American War of Independence. Some valuable contributions to colonial policy under the Old Empire have been made, but in general the tendency has been to focuss the attention on the machinery of royal government and the relations between mother country and colonies. For this reason colonial governors have only entered into the theme as they served to illustrate the t rend of policy. It thus happens that John Wentworth, though occasionally referred to, has not received adequate treatment. His biography by Lawrence Shaw Mayo relates to his life as Governor of New Hampshire, 1767 to 1775, but with the exception of a few closing references to his life in Nova Scotia he makes no attempt to study him in the unique role of governor both in the old and the new colonial empire. While touchinglightly upon his family background, his popularity, conciliatory policy and plans for the economic development of the colony, Mayo is concerned more with making his study a readable

biography of the last royal governor of New Hampshire than a serious treatise on colonial government.

The guiding motive in making this dissertation was to find in the life of John Wentworth a history of British colonial policy during an era of change, and if possible to detect what effect the American Revolution had upon the people and government of Nova Scotia which as one of the older colonies had preferred [redacted] to remain within the fold of the empire. The theme therefore centers round Wentworth, his personality, his political principles set in sharp relief against a changing background in which the forces of the old order clash with the new.

profit and loss statements of this mercantile group is the struggle of English expansion overseas, for since the days of Queen Elizabeth to the stirring times of Wolfe and Clive, they were the vanguards of British imperialism, and where they led settlement inevitably followed.

Whatever the motives that induced Englishmen to introduce their pattern of life and thought over large areas of the earth's surface, the pathfinders of the new lands had been urged forward by one ambition, to find a gateway to the riches of the East or to tap the precious metals of Spanish America. Marching along in the path of empire builders was the ever watchful Board of Trade, whose correspondence reveals most clearly the influence of the merchant traders to mould the colonial policy of the nation. Petitions from the merchants kept the Board informed of the trend of overseas trade, while reports from governors and customs officials covered the trading activities of the colonists. Colonial history from its very birth was wrapped in the mantle of English mercantilism and along its pathway the mother country with her brood of colonies had found wealth and glory. By 1763 England had built up the

greatest empire of the modern era.

Growing up in New Hampshire under the shadow of the French and Indian wars was a youth whose family fortunes were inextricably bound up with the growth of the empire in North America. The progenitor of the American branch of the Wentworth family was a William Wentworth, who came from the village of Rigsby in Lincolnshire, England, and was an ardent follower of the Reverend John Wheelwright, founder of a colony at Exeter, New Hampshire in the year 1637. For a few years this settlement flourished, but when the territory came under the jurisdiction of Machusetts, Wheelwright and his followers were forced to remove to Wells, Maine, since Governor Winthrop declined to tolerate their particular brand of puritanism within the precincts of his territory. After Winthrop's death, this ardent religious group returned to their old surroundings and William Wentworth settled at Dover, where he became a leader in the small community and lived to a very old age.[1]

In 1717 his grandson, John, "who had acquired a handsome fortune by mercantile industry", was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, and until the outbreak of the

1. Jeremy Belknap, Hist. of New Hampshire, Boston, 1791, Vol.3, 297

Revolutionary War in 1775 the Wentworth family played a leading part in the political life of the province. The modest and austere life of the puritan was laid aside for the pomp and ceremony attending the King's representative, and the religion of their forefathers for the established Church of England. The basis of their great wealth was the timber trade which from the earliest days centered at Portsmouth, the chief port in the pine region throughout the eighteenth century. With the assistance of their cousins, the Atkinsons, the Wentworth family had sufficient influence to bring about the establishment of New Hampshire as a separate province.[1] For years the colony had been under the government of Massachusetts, but the relations between the two provinces became so strained that in the interests of peace and progress the home government in 1741 acceded to the pleas of the Wentworth group, and consented to give New Hampshire a government of its own.

Benning Wentworth, following in the footsteps of his father became the new governor. For a number of years he had been engaged in the lumber business, shipping mainly to Spain, and on the outbreak of the War of Jenkin's Ear was practically

1. BritMus. Add. Mss. 32692, "Newcastle Papers", VII, Council of New Hampshire to Thomlinson, Mar.5,1738.

bankrupt owing to the refusal of the Spanish officials to pay for some large timber consignments. Through the aid of Thomlinson, New Hampshire's London agent, he was recommended to Newcastle as the most suitable choice for the new governorship of the province,[1] and two years later he was also appointed Surveyor General of the Woods, Under Benning's administration New Hampshire expanded rapidly. Furthermore he enjoys the unique distinction among the old colonial governors of successfully enforcing the royal prerogative against the encroachments of an aggressive assembly. Ambitious by nature, he was anxious to found a family that would be supported by a large landed estate, and on his death he had acquired 100,000 acres of the best lands in the colony. He had accomplished this by making lavish grants of land not only in his own territory, but in that of his neighbour, Governor Clinton of New York. In the year 1761 he created sixty-eight townships, fifty of which were in an area claimed by New York, and in each he had reserved to himself a plot of five hundred acres.[2] With each grant made there was a fee to the governor, and it naturally follows that the highest bidder was favoured.

1. Brit. Mus. Add.Mss. 32692, "Newcastle Papers", VII,
2. C. O. 5:928, B. Wentworth to Board of Trade, Sept.26, 1764.

Complaints from New Yorkand his own province concerning these irregularities, particularly the buying and selling of offices/ and his neglect of duty as surveyor general of the woods, brought about an official inquiry into his administration.[1] When it appeared that he was to be dismissed from office, his nephew John who was in London at the time, used his friendship with the Marquis of Rockingham to allow Benning to resign in his favour.[2] The request was granted. On July 16th, 1766 the commissions as governor of New Hampshire and surveyor general of the woods were issued to John Wentworth.[3]

The new governor was born at Portsmouth, August 9th(O.S.) 1737. As his father, Mark Hunking Wentworth had acquired an immense fortune through his mast agency with the Navy Board, and was one of the Masonian proprietors, he was one of the most influential men in New England. His mother was Elizabeth Rindge, daughter of a prominent Portsmouth merchant. With wealth and prestige as his birthright John entered Harvard in the autumn of 1751 at the age of fourteen years. Among his classmates was John Adams, a farmer's son from Braintree, Machusetts. Adams and Wentworth became very good friends and

1. C. O. 942, p.290.

2. Belknap Papers, Mass.Hist.Soc., Sixth Series, vol.4,1891,p.499 Wentworth to Belknap, May 15, 1791.

3. C. O. 942, p.312,Draught of Wentworth's commission,July 29[illegible]

despite political differences in later years, ever regarded each other with respect, admiration and genuine feeling. Both attained to political prominence, but under different flags, and years later when an exile in Nova Scotia Wentworth remarked to another friend of these early days, "I rejoice in and am proud of the affectionate remembrance of my old friend, the highly respected president of the United States, and with perfect sincerity reciprocate his kind expression; for it is certain I always loved John Adams".[1] Such was the depth of their friendship that even the bitterness of civil war could not destroy it.

After graduating from college Wentworth associated with a few young friends in land speculation. On the northeastern frontier of New Hampshire they bought a large estate which they called Wolfboro, in honour of the late illustrious General Wolfe. With the fear of French invasion removed they planned to realize their fortunes in the development of this tract, but with the return of peace in 1763 John was sent to England to represent his father's business and to undertake a few commissions for the provincial government.[2] During his sojourn in London he was an interested spectator of the struggle over Grenville's Stamp Act

1. Belknap papers, op.cit.

2. Provincial Papers, New Hampshire, VII,p.92, Atkinson to Thomlinson, Oct. 21, 1763.

and through an introduction of Barlow Trecothick, the London agent for Massachusetts, he met the Marquis of Rockingham. A bond of friendship was then formed between the young colonial aristocrat and the youthful leader of the great Whig party that lasted until Rockingham's death in 1782. Privileged to hear such orators as Burke and Pitt and to meet and mingle with the leading politicians of the day, Wentworth came to know the sentiments of Whig and Tory concerning England's right to tax her colonies. With Trecothick he took an active interest in pressing for the repeal of the Stamp Act and presented an address from his native province. These must have been exciting days for the young provincial as he engaged in the campaign against Grenville's tax. Trecothick knew everydne worth knowing in the political world of London. Consulted by Newcastle, intimate of Rockingham, member for London and one of the aldermen of the city he took a prominent part in the life of the great capital,[1] and Burke has said that he was "the principal instrument in the happy repeal of the Stamp Act, which, without giving up the British authority, quieted the Empire".[2] To celebrate their victory the merchants held a great banquet in Drapers Hall and through

1. Brit. Mus., Add. Mss., 32970;32974;32977."Newcastle Papers".
2. George Thomas, Earl of Albermarle, "Memoirs of Marquis of Rockingham",Vol. 1,11,Bentley, London,1852,Vol.1,p.320.

Trecothick's influence most of the great Whig noblemen attended the function which was thought "the most brilliant ever seen in the city". Contact at an impressionable age with the cultured leaders of English society brought out in John Wentworth latent qualities of leadership and social charm which gave him that distinguished bearing and dignified outlook characteristic of an eighteenth century gentleman.

Returning home via the southern route he reached Charleston, South Carolina, on March 22nd, 1767 and a few days later began his liesurely trip northward dividing his time between surveying the King's forests and enjoying the hospitality of such famous southern families as the Bryds and the Randolphs. On his arrival in New Hampshire the people showed their appreciation of his zealous activities for the repeal of the Stamp Act by the enthusiastic reception tendered him, and amid great rejoicing and public merriment the last royal governor of New Hampshire was ushered into office on June 13th, 1767.

The problems confronting him were many and varied. Though New Hampshire had not shown such a rebellious attitude towards the Stamp Act as did her sister provinces, yet the event had

1. Albermarle, op.cit.,p.320.; Through the influence of his friends Wentworth received an honourary degree of L.L.D. from Aberdeen University and Oxford University conferred on him the degree of D. C. L.

unsettled the people, and as new lands were then being opened up in the frontier districts a more active and aggressive attitude could be expected in provincial politics. Moreover, for years Benning Wentworth had been at loggerheads with his assembly and though he had succeeded in upholding the royal prerogative much dissatisfaction existed. Like his people, John Wentworth had a personal interest in the development of the colony. His first problem was to curb the growing spirit of contemporary democracy, which he cleverly tried to solve by withdrawing the attention of the people from the subject of popular rights and directing it towards the economic and social development of the colony.

When he looked out over his province with its population of 52,000, he saw before him a country divided by sectional interests and prejudices, the geogrsphical features of which further intensified. With its rivers, the natural highways of colonial days, finding their outlet in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Maine, the produce went not to Portsmouth but to New Haven and Boston, where the farmers not only received paper money for their goods, but imbibed also the democratic tendencies of their

neighbours. In contrast to the trading colony of Massachusetts, New Hampshire was mainly engaged in farming and lumbering, and owing to the scourge of the French and Indian wars its development had been much slower. Since the peace, however, there had been a large influx of settlers and in order to link up the interior and frontier sections of the country with Portsmouth, the only port in the province, Wentworth immediately advocated an improvement in inland communication.

His plan to build four main highways failed to receive the support of the Assembly, who felt that the great expense involved should be borne by the proprietors of the large estates of undeveloped land through which the highways would go. Though he was obliged to abandon this ambitious scheme he did not give up the idea of improving the roads, and with an astuteness characteristic of him he decided to apply the quit-rents to this service. As in the other colonies the collections of this tax had been irregular and unpopular, but by 1772 Wentworth was able to report that he had received about 5000L in arrears, and which with the consent of the home authorities he applied to road construction.[1]

Another important measure which called for immediate

1. C. O. 5:937, No. 36, Hillsborough to Wentworth, Mar. 4, 1772.

settlement was the division of the province into counties. As the courts of justice were all centered in Portsmouth it involved great delay and inconvenience to the outlying districts, and practically debarred them from the benefits of the law. This had been the cause of much dissension under the former administration and by tactfully proposing a satisfactory compromise in the number of counties Wentworth succeeded in getting the bill passed by both houses. When forwarding the act for the approval of the home government he stressed the importance of facilitating the administration of justice in remote districts, "who without some such assistance will certainly grow savage and ungovernable as the Indians".[1]

Another project which received his full support was the school founded by the Reverend Eleazor Wheelock. Originally it was only meant to be a small school "for the education of youths of the English and Indian tribes"[2], but through the governor's influence and friendly advice Lord Dartmouth consented to be its patron. Endowed by donations from England, among the subscribers being His Majesty King George the Third, and a large tract of land granted by Wentworth, it was finally

1. C. O. 5:930, Wentworth to Hillsborough, Feb. 18, 1770.

2. Hist. Mss. Comm. 14th Report, Appendix, X, "Dartmouth Papers", Vol.II.

established as Dartmouth College and received its charter on August 13th, 1769.

Wentworth had suggested the Bishop of London as one of the trustees, but the Bishop declined the honour and the governor's ambition to link up the Church of England with this seat of learning had to be abandoned. Zealous to further the interests of the church, and with new townships springing up and great numbers of settlers moving out from the center of Puritanism towards the frontier, Wentworth saw that many of them, who were poor and moreover tired of the dissensions then existing among the puritans, would easily be won over to the church, if only a state chaplain could be sent out. It was his opinion that only by strengthening the position of the established religion would contemporary democracy be kept in check, and he spared no effort to attract to the church, men whose talents and personality commanded support in the colony.

For two years after taking office the governor remained Portsmouth's most eligible bachelor, whose establishment was the most fashionable in town. His sojourn in London had given him a taste for luxurious living, and he spared no expense in

modeling his American home after the style of an English mansion. A painting of him by Copley in 1769 shows him as a handsome, intelligent young aristocrat whose kindly eyes and determined chin are the key to his character. Strength of will combined with a goodness of heart were ever his distinguishing characteristics. His marriage to Mrs. Frances Atkinson on November 11th, 1769 was announced in the Boston News Letter with all the eulogistic phrases them common to the journalists of the day. His wife, who was a widow by only ten days, was one of the most beautiful women in America, and was the daughter of Samuel Wentworth a prominent Boston merchant, and as such was first cousin both to her late husband and to the governor. Beautiful, accomplished the very embodiment of grace and charm, she made an ideal helpmate for aristocratic John Wentworth, and throughout her life captivated both friends and acquaintances with her charming personality.

After his return to New Hampshire the governor's attention was again directed to his estate at Wolfboro. Not much had been accomplished in his absence, but in 1768 he cleared a few acres and built a small dwelling to which he could retire during the

the summer. As time went on, however, he became more and more attached to his country home and the humble dwelling began to take on the pretentiousness of a mansion. Wentworth House it was called, and situated about a quarter of a mile northeast of a lake named Smith's pond it commanded a superb view of the surrounding countryside. No expense was denied to make it one of the finest estates in America and in later years when estimating its value he placed it at forty thousand pounds.[1] A lover of the open, intensely interested in agriculture and in opening up communications between the different sections of the province, he set the fashion for country life, and in a short while neighbouring estates sprang up in the surrounding wilderness.

When the enormous expense involved in the development of Wolfboro is considered, it is natural to expect that the governor was a very wealthy man, but aside from his official salaries which amounted to about 1500L he possessed very little in his own right.[2] It is claimed that his father advanced him 13,000L, for this is the sum which the elder Wentworth lodged against the estate when it was confiscated after the Revolution. The debts outstanding amounted to 18,000L which shows that the

1. A. O. 12/104, p.71, Claim presented before the compensation board in 1784 .
2. Belknap, op.cit.,II,p.348.

governor not only borrowed on a large scale, but expected to find a revenue which would repay the same. It appears that in the large landholdings acquired by his uncle he saw the means to this end. As the old governor had no living children it was expected that on his death the lands would go to John. Unfortunately wills like the weather vane have a way of surprising the world and Benning's great estate went to his young widow, a serving maid whom he had married shortly before his death. Keenly disappointed, and no doubt urged on by necessity, the governor took measures that would recover the lands. With the consent of his council he decreed that Benning had not a clear title to the townships which he had granted to himself, and furthermore as many of the lands still remained uncultivated they should be re-granted "to such of His Majesty's subjects as should settle and cultivate the same". These measures were passed by a council composed of eight members, seven of whom were relatives and gave their assent; the eighth, Peter Livius, dissented and gave as his principal reason that the governor wished to grant the lands in question to himself through the medium of third parties.

In addition to being a councillor, Livius had served for a

number of years as a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and since Wentworth's administration his name frequently appears in opposition.[1] It may be that having been overlooked by Wentworth when the new commissions were issued for judges on the division of the counties, he was out to annoy and thwart any measure sponsored by the governor. Whatever his motives he felt justified in lodging a formal complaint against Wentworth before the Board of Trade, in which he accused him "with oppression and mal-administration"[2] in the government of New Hampshire. In particular he charged him with duplicity in the regranting and distributing of the said lands, of interfering with the judiciary, of checking the assembly's attempt to investigate the powder money revenues, of failing to send home copies of the council's journal, of filling the council with relatives and friends, and lastly of personally abusing Livius for his opposition.[3] On the request of the secretary of state Wentworth prepared a defense which answered point by point the charges brought against him. This, together with letters from "persons of all ranks and professions" testifying to the governor's good character, was sent to England to be investigated along with the memorial from Livius.[4]

1. C.O.5:966,p.119,Assembly Journal,New Hampphire,March 1769.
2. C.O.5:943,p.26,Report of the Board of Trade, May 10, 1773.
3. Acts of the Privy Council,Col.Ser.VI,Unbound papers,p.370
4. Ibid., C.O.5:945,No.46,Wentworth to Dartmouth,Oct.28,1772.

After a lengthy investigation the Board of Trade gave it as their opinion that "the complaints against Mr. Wentworth so far as it regards the facts above stated, has been fully verified but they thought it their duty to represent that since the governor's appointment had been quiet and prosperous and "that every attempt to excite the people to disorder and disobedience has been by the firm and temperate conduct of Mr. Wentworth suppressed and restrained", but on the whole they questioned whether his conduct "in the instances of mal-administration and oppression with which he has been charged, has been such as renders him a fit person to be entrusted with Your Majesty's interests in the important station he now holds".[1] The note of praise for the peace and good order prevailing in the province was Wentworth's only hope for exoneration. Through the influence of his cousin Paul Wentworth and Sir Thomas Wentworth the Privy Council consented to a special inquiry.[2] After a lengthy hearing during which the "firm and temperate government" of Wentworth was repeatedly stressed, the council dismissed the charge, with a slight reprimand to Wentworth for failing to send home copies of the journal.[3]

1. C.O.5:945, "Report of the Board of Trade", May 12,1773.
2. Ibid., "Memorial of Sir Thomas Wentworth and Paul Wentworth".
3. P. C. I,55, "Unbound Papers", Co.Ser., Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, Aug.26,1773.

Political wire pulling plus the general excellence of his administration when compared with the turbulent state of affairs in other of the American colonies had saved John Wentworth from dismissal. That New Hampshire was prosperous and outwardly loyal to the crown was due in no small way to the governor, but in his zeal for the welfare of the province the Wentworth interests were by no means overlooked. It is true that many of the abuses that existed within his government had grown up in the previous administration. The system of 'family compact' government had been introduced by the Wentworths in the early years of the century. For the most part the council had been appointed by his uncle Benning, but his own nominations do not show any decided improvement. On the death of his cousin, the provincial secretary, he appointed the father, a very old man, whose business interests gave him very little opportunity to devote to such an important office, while he also nominated his cousin Paul who resided in London to be of the council. Coming as he did from a race of astute and enterprising merchants, who had built up a strong, political and commercial unit in Portsmouth, he made no attempt to alter its machinery, but rather used it as a means to power,

prestige and wealth. He accepted the standards of his class and made the fatal error of underestimating a character like Livius, for years later he says, "I most certainly would have bought him had I not too unwisely relied on my integrity for defense and support".[1] Subsequent events, however, were to prove that though Livius by nature was a political agitator he was abovebribery.

Wishing "to render substantial justice to Livius", Dartmouth appointed him a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Montreal.[2] Shortly after his arrival in Quebec he became acting chief justice, but unfortunately he was to find executive irregularities in Canada also. When Governor Carleton came out to Canada he had concealed that portion of his instructions, which held out hope of English commercial law and the Habeas Corpus Act to the British minority then resident in Montreal and Quebec. Furthermore, he called into being a privy council thus keeping the control of government within the hands of a few friends.[3] For two years there is no record of any disagreement between the governor and chief justice, but Livius remonstrated privately with the governor concerning these matters,

1. Belknap Papers, op.cit., 111,p.54.

2. A. L. Burt, Tragedy of Chief Justice Livius, Can.Hist,Soc. Review, Vol.5,1924,p.197,202.

3. Ibid.

especially the illegality of the privy council. When there was no move by Carleton to dispense with it Livius brought the question into the legislative council. Shortly after he sat in judgment on the famous Dobie case and though he knew that the Governor and his friends were firmly convinced of Dobie's guilt, he did not hesitate to defend a much maligned man. As a result Dobie was freed, but the following day Livius received his dismissal. When the case was investigated by the Board of Trade, Carleton's conduct was condemned since he had ignored his instructions and removed the chief justice without cause, and it was ordered that Livius should be reinstated.[1]

While the investigation into the governor's administration was proceeding, the reports from America, especially Massachusetts told of the ever widening breach between the mother country and the mass of the American people. Since the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Townshend duties, the merchants who had engineered the non-importation agreements had been engrossed in their profit and loss statements with little time to devote to politics. But the fires of discontent still smouldered, patiently fanned by such ardent republicans as James Otis and Samuel Adams. Enlisting the support of the mechanics and freeholders Adams left the

1. A. L. Burt, op.cit., p.207

merchants to time, for once his organization was functioning properly and had awakened public opinion to a belief in his doctrine of rights, a little pressure, he thought, would bring the majorityof the merchants intc his camp. In the fall of 1773 the new tea act was just the lever necessary to secure the active support of the mercantile group. Tea now became the all absorbing topic in America and both legitimate and smuggling merchants united to oppose the dumping of cheap tea on colonial markets by the East India Company.[1]

During the years 1764 to 1770 New Hampshire had shown very little disposition to co-operate with the other colonies in their non-importation agreements. This was owing to the fact that it was an agricultural rather than an industrial state and that her commerce was controlled by a group of merchants who resided in Portsmouth and who were members of the political group in power. The link between the commercial and political interests was a strong one and in this way Wentworth had easily prevented the formation of non-importation agreements and committees in the province. Moreover, New Hampshire was enjoying a period of prosperity, and as Wentworth remarked

1. Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, Columbia University Press, Vol.VIII, p.240.

"they will not risk any change of conduct to obtain ideal advantages for solid comfort"[1]. During the Stamp Act crisis there were public demonstrations in and about Portsmouth, but there was no mob violence such as existed in Massachusetts and the province as a whole quiet, sending no delegate to the Congress but accepting the resolutions adopted by their sister colonies.

On March 5th, 1770, the so-called Boston Massacre occurred and as the news spread throughout the different provinces New Hampshire's indifference vanished, and "the cry of Blood, reechoed from one to the other, seems to infuriate them"[2] wrote the governor. When the excitement over the Boston affair had somewhat subsided, the New Hampshire merchants resumed trading relations with England and were soon "importing British merchandize on a larger scale than ever before"[3]. Even the boycott of Massachusetts failed to deter them. After the repeal of the Townshend duties there was comparative quiet in the colony until 1773, when the new tea act was passed. According to Wentworth, "the unwearied applications from Boston communicated the flame here", and on December 16th, 1773 the

1. P.A.N.S. 55, Wentworth to Trecothick, Jan. 27, 1768.

2. Ibid., p.327, Wentworth to Hillsborough, Apr. 12, 1770.

3. Schlesinger, op.cit. p.216.

very day that the famous tea party took place, a town meeting was held at Portsmouth where strong resolutions were passed against the importation of dutied teas. With their interests threatened the Portsmouth merchants were not slow to register their protest, but this time they were in accord with the Boston group and the cause of parliament thus lost its foothold in New Hampshire.

It now rested with the Governor to avoid the cross currents besetting the royal government. Since coming into office he had adopted a conciliatory policy in his relations with the assembly, and an interesting example of this is seen in the dispute over the establishment of his salary. Rather than risk his popularity, he was wise enough to accept an annual grant of 700L instead of a "permanent salary".[1] Although this violated his instructions it was a wise decision, as he was able to keep control of the appointing power which had been challenged by the assembly when it insisted on appointing the officials to collect the excise from which the allowance was to be paid. His zeal for the repeal of the Stamp Act served him in good stead during the early years of his administration and

1. C. O. 5:935, Wentworth to Shelburne, Mar. 28, 1768.

as the province progressed rapidly under his leadership, he was able by tact and foresight to maintain harmony within his government. Livius' attempt to dissolve the family compact had failed, and though gossip was rife, it does not appear to have weakened Wentworth's position to any great extent. Rather it had the effect of gathering round him many who from sentiment, supported the local son against the intruder Livius.

Understanding thoroughly the workings of the provincial mind Wentworth lamented the arbitrary manner in which the new revenue acts were being introduced, for he realized that it only widened the breach and eventually might produce an open conflict between the colonies and the imperial government. Writing to an English friend on the conduct of the customs board he says, "I would risk my eternal salvation that with moderation, prudence and temper the Act would surely have taken place with very little difficulty. Not one healing measure has yet appeared. All have been in the sailors style-"Obey the act and be damned." The answer is readily known from London Bridge through all His Majesty's Dominions without inquiring what it is. All Englishmen will huzza out, "We'll be damned if we do"... I don't mean to defend any resistance--------

.....No Sir, I fully condemn them in every instance.....
.....what shall we say then of those who have.....rather them into this state by inexorable, useless vigor, without one condescending attempt to restrain them by open, ingenuous, manly conduct".[1] Throughout this letter Wentworth is pleading for the colonists. He admits that they have been wrong, but says, "any dispassionate observer would honestly say that those who have made them so are more sulpable".[2] His own experience had taught him that "the grand secret of success of peace and security was to cause them to think before they acted-the longer the better-and to be steady, open and resolute without any mystery or intrigue. In this way there never will be great tumults.....In fact men will not be led on to broken heads, gaols and gallows unless they are somehow deceived".[3]

When one of the Customs Commissioners informed him of his intended visit to Portsmouth, Wentworth adopted this policy. This particular official had made himself very unpopular in Massachusetts and the Boston radicals had notified their brethern in New Hampshire to be prepared for him. Determined to prevent any commotion Wentworth "inquired of some warm people

1. P.A.N.S., 55, Wentworth to Dr. Anthony Bâlhan, Aug. 9, 1768.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

"what the business of such an officer was. They told me what I knew well enough before. I observed there was no harm in it except to customs house officers whom it would torment. They joined and were glad he was coming. Thus they became his guard.....By degrees it was soon known that he was to come, three or four days abused, three or four more they inquired and found both man and his duty entirely innoxious, and by his arrival all was well.....In any other way we should have had a flaming riot."[1]

Many other instances of his skill in preventing a public demonstration may be found in his correspondence. Only by tact and patience, he thought, could the present difficult stage in colonial history be happily bridged. To him it was a matter of wonder that there were not more riots, when "the natural imbecility of colonial government"is considered. In a system "where every civil officer from governor to constable is dependent on the people for annual support.....it not only influences personal in the officer but also destroys that respect and confidence necessary to subordination.....Compulsory power we have not-the other great nerve of government reward of profit

1. P.A.I.C., 25, Wentworth to Belhaven Aug. 9, 1768.

"and honor to make and preserve an interest, to support and animate the orders of administration are all disposed of in your atmosphere. What means then are left to connect and bind together the great machine.....Hence ariseth every inconvenience in colonial government, and will remain the true and effectual source of discontent and disorder."[1] Not by power but bypolicy did he think the imperial connection could be maintained . What he suggested was to give back to the governor the discretionary power of appointment vested in him by his commission. Throughout the past century the home officials had gradually taken colonial patronage out of the hands of the governor. Notonly had this prevented him from building up a strong following in his colony, but it had furthered weakened his position by surrounding him with a group of irresponsible officials and a number of indifferent deputies. Wentworth was perhaps thinking more of the other colonies than that of his own province, since the Wentworth family compact was unique in New England. Immensely wealthy, the Wentworths were not dependent on the official salary and throughout Newcastle's administration Benning had built up a political unit that proved almost strong

1. P.A.N.S., 55, Wentworth to Belhan, Aug. 9, 1768.

enough to ride the revolutionary storm. It is a question, that if Lord George Germaine had not indiscreetly sent Wentworth's private correspondence along with his public dispatches to the House of Commons, Wentworth might have kept New Hampshire out of the conflict in the early years of the rebellion. Before this blunder was discovered the information had leaked out and when news of it reached New Hampshire the governor was branded as a traitor and forced to seek refuge in the fort.

Another point which Wentworth stresses in this letter was the folly of restricting the commercial activities of the colonies. Instead of discouraging the colonial manufactures it would only accelerate them, he said."The natural tendency of the Americans would be to neglect manufacturing for at least another two hundred years, but restrictions enforced by penal laws would in sixty years find them fabricating their own consumption, and leaving a surplus for export". This he said was by no means visionary, but was the result of his own personal observations in his travels throughout the thirteen colonies.

Experience gained by travel both in England and in his

own country made him realize the wide divergence between the colonists and the mother country in thought and manner of life. Despite the mass of information supplied the Board of Trade and other imperial officials, it seemed impossible for the home government to conceive that the colonies had come of age. When they did awake to the fact, it was almost too late to rectify the defects in the old system without a violent upheaval. As a royal governor, Wentworth's duty was to carry on the King's government according to his instructions. As he himself said, it was not for him to question the expediency of the measures adopted and though he might discuss the problem of colonial government with intimate friends, his duty was to uphold the royal prerogative come what may.[1]

In 1774 a committee of correspondence was set up and despite the governor's remonstrance the assembly met and elected members for the coming American Congress. A select committee of forty-five members were also chosen by a town meeting at Portsmouth to watch the avenues of trade so that all the boycotted goods might be effectually prohibited. Though in the beginning New Hampshire was lagard in entering into these

1. P. A. H. S. 55, Wentworth to George Tate, Aug. 27, 1767.

2. C. O. 5:938, No.61, Wentworth to Dartmouth, June 8, 1774; Wentworth reports that the resolutions relating to the formation of these committees passed by a very small majority, in one case of two only.

extra-legal associations, her citizens proved themselves as zealous as any Boston patriots and far more temperate. There was little the governor could do to check these revolutionary movements and once started they were beyond his control.

Attempts of the conservative group to set on foot an organization in opposition to the Congress came to nought and[1] deserted by the militia which he had trained and reorganized, Wentworth found himself with but fifty men on whom he might rely for assistance. It thus rested largely on his own genius to uphold the dignity of his office and to maintain peace between people and crown during the trying days between the first and second congress. All perhaps would have gone well had he not attempted to carry out instructions from General Gage to send labourers to Boston to build barracks for the troops. Wentworth secretly advertised for men and in addition secured a large consignment of blankets and other necessaries that could not be had in Massachusetts. When the committee learned of this they denounced him as "an enemy of the community".[2] By this act he alienated the people's affection and trust in him, and the vigilance of the "45" was redoubled

1. C. O. 5:939,No.73, Wentworth to Dartmouth, Jan. 14,1775.

2. Ibid., Resolves of the Committee of Ways and Means, N.H., printed in New Hampshire Gazette,Oct.28,1774.

in its efforts to weed out all enemies to the public cause. As a result many of the conservatives who were suspected of loyalist tendencies fled to Boston for safety and the governor, fearing insult to his person as the King's representative, and also the loss of the treasury, appealed to Gage for soldiers.[1]

During this time of tumult and disorder a son was born to Governor and Mrs. Wentworth on January 20th, 1775, and a month later Wentworth writing to a friend, Captain Holland, says, "Last week we christianized our new born son, whom we present to you by the name of Charles-Mary, after Lord and Lady Rockingham at their request. The boy is well and hearty. He will do to pull up stumps at Wentworth House", from which it would appear that even at that late date Wentworth did not contemplate the overthrow of the royal government, but expected that some conciliatory measures would be adopted by parliament. This, however, was before the fateful Lexington engagement which precipitated the country into open warfare and banished the hopes of the moderates for any peaceful settlement.

Unable to spare any soldiers Gage sent a frigate to Portsmouth with about one hundred marines aboard. While this

1. C.O.5:939, Wentworth to Gage, Dec.14,1774; Among those who supported Wentworth during this time of unrest was Major Thompson, a young colonial under Wentworth's patronage. Later Thompson went to England and had a brilliant career. He became Count Rumford of Bavaria, the famous physicist.

gave Wentworth a feeling of security it increased the tension then existing between the townspeople and the crown. Only two days before the frigate's arrival, the popular party had attacked the fort, tore down the King's colours and carried off all the ammunition they could find. Unable to rally a force sufficient to overcome the insurgents, Wentworth was powerless to prevent this insult to His Majesty's government. One by one the members and retainers of the once powerful family compact sought safety before the oncoming storm, and Wentworth was left with but a few faithful friends to whom he could look for assistance.

As the temper of the people grew more and more antagonistic to the British, the governor's influence was reduced to almost zero. When the assembly met on June 12th, 1775 they brusquely passed over his advice to consider Parliament's recent conciliatory proposals and proceeded to the business nearest their interest, namely the right of three members to sit for the three new towns recently incorporated and to whom the governor had sent writs authorizing that they send a deputy to the assembly. This right the house claimed was theirs, but it was not so much a matter of privilege which they wished to

1. P.A.N.S.,57, p.32,Wentworth to Admiral Graves,20 Dec.1774, Graves action in impressing the local fishermen and confiscating their fish did much to precipitate Wentworth's withdrawl from his government

determine, but rather a wish to prevent one of the new members from taking his seat. This was Colonel Fenton, a friend of Wentworths who had recently written a letter to the people of the back country urging them to tend to their crops and leave politics alone, else they might find themselves attacked by the Indians and Canadians should they take up arms.[1] After the morning's session, Fenton called at the executive mansion and when he was preparing to leave a mob assembled outside the door demanding that he surrender. As he made no sign of complying they placed a cannon in front of the door, and with such a threat the Colonel gave himself up. Towards evening Wentworth received notice that a mob was coming to take him prisoner, and collecting a few belongings he fled with his family to the fort, which, though dilapitated, was nevertheless under the protecting guns of the frigate.

Surrounded by a few of the crown officials Wentworth managed to keep in touch with his council and with them acted as intermediary between the people and the captain of the frigate, whose impressments kept the town in a ferment. Towards the end of summer, 1775, the Portsmouth Committee of Public

1. P.A.N.S., 57, p.104, Wentworth to Dartmouth, June 14, 1775.

Safety issued an edict forbidding communications between the town and the fort. As the Captain of the frigate was now faced with starvation, he informed Wentworth that he would have to go to Boston for supplies and rather than trust himself to the mercy of the mob Wentworth embarked on the 23rd of August 1775, and with his family sailed away into exile.

# CHAPTER 11.

## KEEPER OF THE KING'S WOODS.

In the days of wooden ships maritime nations had great need of timber and since the forests of America could furnish an inexhaustible supply, the lumber trade soon became as important as the fisheries in the economic life of the colonies. In the development of this trade the colonists sought markets not only in the mother county, but in Spain, France, the West Indies and in all countries where masts, spars and bowsprits could be sold.

Owing to their great length, American masts were far superior to those secured from the Baltic; they were, however, much dearer, owing to the heavy freight charges necessitated by the long overseas journey, the building of specially constructed mast ships, and colonial labour, which was considerably higher than in Europe. Since the Baltic supplies could be more easily and cheaply obtained, the Navy Board preferred them to American, but the vacillating timber policy of the northern countries eventually forced them to turn to the American market for reserves.

With the reorganization of colonial affairs in 1696 official steps were at once taken to preserve for the home government an ample supply of mast timber. In the new charter issued to Massachusetts in 1691 it was decreed that "all trees of the diameter of twenty-four inches and upwards at twelve inches from the ground" growing in the province on ground not before granted to any private person were to be reserved to the crown. By placing a penalty of one hundred pounds on every tree cut without royal license it was hoped to preserve for the Navy an ample supply of masts. In 1711 this measure extended to all the colonies from Maine to New Jersey, further strengthened by another act in 1721 so as to include the recently acquired colony of Nova Scotia, and finally by the Act of 1729 it was decreed that "the trees in any township laid out or to be laid out hereafter in any of the colonies were to be subject to the Broad Arrow"[1]. These acts aimed to safeguard fur future generations the mast resources of America, and in order to encourage the colonists to manufacture naval stores bounties were granted on American timber.

To carry out this policy of mast preservation an officer called the Surveyor General of the Woods was appointed. As John Wentworth succeeded to this office in 1766 and except for

1. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Forests and Sea Power, Harvard Econ. Study, Cambridge, University Press, 1926, p.249,256; Co0.323,8,No.104,Bundle L, Acts 3 & 4 Anne, Ch 9, Act 8 Geo.1.

a short time during the American Revolution continued in it until his death in 1820, a short study of the origin and function of this office as it then existed in America is necessary.

Realizing the necessity of freeing Great Britain from dependence on the northern countries for naval supplies, the Lords of Trade in 1696 decided to investigate the quality of American timber and the possibility of securing naval stores from their American colonies. Accordingly, they sent out four commissioners to New England to make an official survey of the forests. One of these, John Bridger, was later appointed the first real surveyor general of the woods in America. When the Board was requested to prepare a draft of the commission, it was learned that the surveyor of the woods was an officer of the revenue and that the commission would have to come from the treasury.[1] The duties of the office were two fold. The surveyor was to restrain the people from cutting down and converting to other uses such trees as were fit for the masting of the Navy and to mark off these trees with the broad arrow, the old sign of naval property. In addition he was to instruct the settlers in the making of naval stores. Like the governor, he was to report from time to time on his activities to one of the secretaries of state and to the commissioners of trade and plantations.[2]

1. Cal. State Papers, Journal of Board of Trade, Amer. & W.I., 1704-1705, p. 731, Brd of Trade to Hedges, Dec. 19, 1705.

2. C. O. 323, 8, Bundle L. No. 97, Instructions to Col. Dunbar, May 28, 1728.

The zeal and activity of Bridger in carrying out these instructions laid the basis for a strong Broad Arrow policy which England maintained throughout the eighteenth century. His correspondence reveals the hostility of the colonists for the new naval regulations and their skill in evading the penalties imposed by the Act of 1711, which had been passed through his influence.

In 1727 the office went to David Dunbar.[1] Complaints had reached England of the great destruction of the pine timber and as the office was then held by deputy, it was decided to appoint an official who would reside in America.

At this time the office took on an added importance in the life of the colonies and in the instructions issued to Dunbar a clause was inserted requiring all governors to aid and assist him in the performance of his duties. This instruction was henceforth included in the commissions issued to colonial governors and in the instructions then being prepared for Governor Phillips of Nova Scotia. It was further decreed that no lands were to be granted until the surveyor had set aside not less than 200,000 acres for naval purposes. Dunbar was ordered to proceed to America immediately in order that the "settlement of Nova Scotia be no longer delayed"[2] He was also given the additional title of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Lands in

1. C. O. 323, 8, Bundle L, No.81, Scrope to Popple, Dec.23,1727; Ibid., No 97, Instructions to Col.Dunbar, Mar.28, 1728

2. Ibid.

Nova Scotia, and the assistance of two or more deputies, skilled shipwrights. A grant of eight hundred pounds was allotted to the office, four hundred of which went to the surveyor. As itwas then known that the best pine trees in America grew in the territory between Maine and Nova Scotia, he was ordered to build up a large timber reserve there. When this became known ancient claims to the land were revived, and throughout the eighteenth century the heirs of the Kennebec proprietors contested the right of the surveyor generals to make reservations thereon.[1] In 1731 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, and from his appointment onwards the office was associated with the governorship of that colony and later with that of Nova Scotia. By his tactless manner, Dunbar aroused the antagonism of the New England lumbermen, and it was not until John Wentworth took office that the timber laws were respected. In 1743 Dunbar sold his commission as surveyor to Benning Wentworth and accepted an appointment with the East India Company.

For the next twenty-five years the mast conservationslaws were allowed to slumber quietly. Prior to assuming office, Benning Wentworth had engaged in timber trading with Spain, and therefore he did not attempt to prosecute trespassers in the King's woods quite so vigorously as did his predecessors.

1. P.A.C. Report, 1894, p.75,Dunbar to Board of Trade,Nov.17,17?
   P.A.N.S.,,55,p.313, Wentworth to Kennebec Proprietors,Mar.20, 1770; During the American Rev.it was proposed to erect this district into separate province, but this legal technicality again came to the fore and along with other difficulties prevented the scheme from materialing.

Moreover, the attention of colonial and imperial authorities was focussed on the struggle for empire supremacy then being waged between France and England, and as a result timber settlements grew and flourished with little official interference. Following the Peace Treaty in 1763 the Board of Trade again turned their attention to the preservation of naval timber. Complaints had reached the home office charging Benning Wentworth with neglect of duty and with indulging his deputies in selling and wasting the King's woods, and as these were coupled with other and more serious charges against his administration as Governor of New Hampshire, it was determined to remove him from office, but the Stamp Act crisis delayed the appointment of a successor. John Wentworth who was in London at the time had sufficient influence with Lord Rockingham to allow Benning to resign in his favour and in July 1766 he assumed the duties of the office.[1] It was also decided at the time to appoint a separate surveyor of the woods for Canada and Francis McKay was chosen for that territory.

Since 1728 when Dunbar had been ordered to proceed to America without delay to protect the crown's interests in the pine forests, there had not been such an active interest in this branch of the service. This was owing in part to Parliament's

1. Belknap Papers, op.cit., p.499.

policy at the time to enforce its legal jurisdiction over America, and partly to the personality of the new surveyor. As a result of Berning's laxity in carrying out the duties of this office, his nephew, John, who received his commission on July 16th, 1766 [1] was faced with the necessity of reasserting a law which had been a dead letter for over a century. That Wentworth was determined to strictly enforce the timber laws soon became evident throughout the land. Returning home via the southern route, he investigated the timber resources of the southern states, and registered in each province on his tour northward his office as surveyor. With such foresight and intelligence did he approach the task that, shortly after his appointment, he had partially succeeded in enforcing without violence the Act of 1729. His plan was to surround himself with loyal servants to the crown, and if gratuities went with the office he preferred that they should not come from his subordinates. In accordance with his policy, he dismissed many deputies who had bought offices under his uncle, and in replying to one of them with a touch of dry humour he says, "he is pleased to merit the Colonel's esteem which he hopes wont be lessened by a just resolution not to make [2] any useless sinecures at the public expense".

When he had selected his assitants he instructed them to post

1. A. O. 15,(57),p.377, Instructions to John Wentworth as Surveyor General of the Woods, July 16, 1766.

the timber proclamations in conspicuous places, so that no one could claim ignorance of the law. The activity of the governor is remarkable, for not a town or hamlet but soon learned of his determination to bring all offenders to justice. In writing to customs officials, he was careful not to give offense while sounding a note of warning and tactfully suggested that he thought them ignorant of the prevailing practice of exporting under false names masts and other naval stores. Unless conviction was absolutely certain, Wentworth was careful not to institute proceedings, but in many instances he found that the verdict was robbed of half its value either through the agency of the courts or the culprits. In 1769 an interesting case occurred which tested the strength and determination of the new surveyor. Being informed that trespassers were cutting mast timber on the west bank of the Connecticut, he determined to go himself and bring offend to justice. In January of that year, he set out through a wilderness of snow and ice to Windsor, Vermont, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Here he discovered that some of the best pines had been cut. Having seized the lot, he ordered the arrest of the lumbermen and by the following year had succeeded in lodging them in a New York gaol.[1]

The case however, took on a much wider interest than he had anticipated, and instead of the crown versus the culprits,

1. P.A.N.S., 55, p.299, Wentworth to Hillsborough, July 3, 17

Wentworth learned that a group of New York merchants who owned considerable timber tracts in Upper New York were giving their support to the lumbermen. When the case finally came up for judgment the decision went to the crown, but great was the governor's indignation when he learned that the lumbermen had transferred their goods and chattels and were thus in temporary bankruptcy. On this occasion he proposed to the home authorities that should the pine laws be revised in the near future, it would be adviseable to forfeit the real estate of the trespassers as that was their most valuable possession. In this and other ways did many of the colonists hamper the execution of the naval reserve laws, and when John Wentworth was again appointed to this office in 1783 he was aware of the many difficulties that awaited him.

In the course of his work Wentworth conducted many surveys throughout the forests of America and sent his deputies as far north as Canada. In 1770 he visited Nova Scotia and set aside the 200,000 acres, which Dunbar had been ordered to reserve in 1728. Since that time little attention had been given to the province as a source of naval supplies, but the settlement schemes of Colonel McNutt and other land venturers brought the matter before the home authorities, who then wished to direct the

stream of emigration from New England to Nova Scotia rather than to the Ohio valley. To protect the interests of the crown, Morris, the Surveyor General of Lands for that province, was ordered to make a report on the eastern districts. On his advice it was decided "that all the lands upon the River St. John above the settlements that have already been made upon it, and also the whole island of Cape Breton" should be reserved to the crown as sources of naval timber.[1] No further grants were to be made in these territories, nor any wood cut unless with a special license from the governor. The large reservations made by Wentworth together with these restrictions had insured the King's interests in the woods of Nova Scotia before the influx of the loyalists in 1783.

In 1773 Wentworth conducted a triple survey. With an assistant he made a long trip through north central New England, while his deputies covered Lake Champlain, the Saint Lawrence and eastern Maine. In the latter district violation of the mast laws was open and extensive with practically the whole coast of Maine shipping illicit timber, despite the fact that lumber, except that required for the navy, was no longer an enumerated article. The colonists, however, found a great profit in shipmasts, spars etc. to the French and Spanish West Indies and it

1. Beamish Murdock, History of Nova Scotia, Barnes, Halifax, 1868, Vol.2, p.526.

required more than a few deputies to check the practice. With so many settlements springing up along the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, Wentworth realized that it was necessary to make reservations there without delay, and he developed about this time a system of definite localized reservations. Moreover, when he authorized the cutting of timber on private property he generally arranged to give the owner the job of hauling and delivering it to the mast agent, thus removing in part some of the resentment a man might feel for the loss of his trees.

By the naval reserve acts the mast agents had authority to select all pines on private or crown property which they considered suitable for the navy. Wentworth was aware of the great difficulties involved in such sweeping restrictions especially in a new country, and when in 1778 he was asked to make a report on the timber policy that would be most suitable for the new province then about to be created by government in the country between the Penobscot and the Kennebec rivers, he said, "The Acts of Parliament relative to the preservation of pine timber in America, being merely penal and too general, operated so much against the convenience and even necessities of the inhabitants that had, or could they have been strictly enforced, they would have prevented cultivation and soon put an

"end to the lumber trade both to the West Indies and England, though the latter was an object of parliamentary bounty. Hence it became almost a general interest of the country to frustrate laws which comprehend nearly an unlimited reservation".[1] The reforms which he suggested at this time were considered by the Navy Board in 1783 and some of them were adopted for the service in British North America.

The recognition by the most vigorous surveyor ever appointed that it was impossible to enforce the mast laws as drafted in the early 18th century, is an interesting comment upon the rigidity of the old colonial system. The necessity for of building up a vast naval reserve was of vital importance to a naval power like Britain, but it completely overshadowed the interests of the colonists, by obstructing settlement and limiting the export of one of their principal raw materials. It was just such obnoxious laws as the pine reserve acts that provided the revolutionary leaders with excellent controversial material and the wisdom of John Wentworth in concentrating on definite localized reservations as a future source of supplies came on the eve of the revolution, too late to be of consequence in ameliorating the resentment which years of friction had engendered.

1. C. O. 5:175, p.81-96, Unaddressed letter from Wentworth, Oct, 12, 1778.

When the rebellion put an end to the mast supply from New England, the Navy Board drew on the Baltic countries, but in accordance with their ancient policy these northern countries allied themselves with France and Holland in the Armed Neutrality of 1780, and Britain was then forced to turn to Nova Scotia for naval timber. The value to England of a strong timber policy was keenly felt during the latter years of the revolution. Cut off from American sources in 1775, the comptroller of the Navy Board failed to replenish the dockyards from other sources, which by 1778 resulted in a serious shortage of timber. During this period the reports of the Admirals stress the great handicaps under which they laboured, being forced to set out to conquer their enemies in ships that leaked and masts and spars that lacked the stamina of the splendid New England pines. By some authorities the weak state of the navy is considered an important factor in effecting American independence. With the coming of peace in 1783 the Board turned to Canada to build up a naval supply that would last for future generations. Sir Charles Middleton, who in 1778 had replaced the incompetent Maurice Suckling, put into operation a vigorous campaign to conserve the naval timber[1] and John Wentworth was once more delegated to be the guardian of the King's forests in America.

1. Albion, op.cit., p.287.

## CHAPTER 111.

## IN EXILE.

On his flight from New Hampshire in the summer of 1775, Wentworth took refuge with his wife's relatives in Boston. The distress then prevailing in that city at length induced him to send Mrs. Wentworth and their infant child to England, and on the evacuation of Boston in March 1776 he went with the British forces to Halifax and later to New York. During his stay at the British headquarters he gathered round him a band of loyalists who became known as Governor Wentworth's Corps. With the assistance of Captain Samuel Holland he established an intelligence service with the interior of the country and had agents in his province silently recruiting for the loyalist cause. After great difficulty eventually thirteen hundred men made their way to his camp before he left America. Holland's experiences give a romantic touch to these loyalist activities. Many times taken prisoner he usually managed to escape, but his sufferings were extreme and in the end he only escaped death by a very clever ruse.[1] After taking part in the attack on

1. A. O. 13/53, Memorial of Stephen Holland accompanied by affidavits in support of same.

Danbury, Connecticut, in the spring of 1777, during which he reports the heroic resistance of the rebels, Wentworth rejoined his family in England.

His cousin Paul Wentworth was at this time entrusted with the intelligence service covering the activities of the American representatives in France. Acting under the immediate direction of William Eden, Paul Wentworth had established an efficient organization with contacts on the Continent, the West Indies, and the rebellious colonies.[1] During the next few years the governor and his family lived with Paul at his country place in Hammersmith, and through his influence with the Ministry a pension of five hundred pounds was granted to Wentworth in addition to his salary of eight hundred pounds as Surveyor of the Woods. It would seem that Paul enlisted the services of his cousin and when he made a hurried visit to Paris in the spring of 1778 he took Wentworth with him. The details of this trip reveal one of the most romantic episodes in the American Revolution. Described by Beaumarchais as one of the cleverest men in England, Paul went to Paris to supervise the activities of his agents during the negotiations between the American Commissioners and the French Court. Acting with him was Edwards, private secretary to Benjamin Franklin, and who was his intimate friend and partner

1. C. O. 5:175, p.48, Wentworth to Germaine, July 6, 1776; Brit.Mus. Ass.Mss, 34410-34415, "Auckland Papers", Vol.LV. Wentworth had romantic career before coming to England having served in South America under a foreign country, presumably the Dutch. Was an expert linquist, ambitious for power and far a return for this work wanted a knighthood Eventually died in Burtnam. Another agent was George Chalmers.

on the London Stock Exchange. While his agents were waiting in a lonely stretch of grounds in Versailles for transcripts of Franklin's notes the Wentworth cousins joined in the social life of the great city. Adams has left a description of his meeting with John Wentworth at the Comedie Francaise, where he had gone to see Voltaire's "Brutus", "As I was coming out of the box", he said, " a gentleman seized my by the hand. I looked at him. Governor Wentworth, sir, said the gentleman. At first, I was somewhat embarrassed, and knew not how to behave towards him. As my classmate, and friend at college and ever since, I could have pressed him to my bosom with most cordial affection. But we now belonged to different nations at war with each other, and consequently we were enemies. Both the Governor and the Minister were probably watched by the spies of the police, and our interview would be known next morning at Versailles. The Governor however relieved my from my reveries by asking my questions concerning his father and friends in America..... He then inquired after the health of Dr. Franklin and said he must come out to Passy and pay his compliments to him. He should not dare to see the Marquis of Rockingham after his return without making a visit to Dr. Franklin. Accordingly, in a day or two, he came and made a morning visit. Dr. Franklin and I

received him together; but there was no conversation but upon trifles. The Governor's visit for this trip to Paris and visit to Passy I neverw knew. If they bore any resemblance to those of Mr. Hartley, his deportment and language were very different. Not an indelicate expression to us, or our country, or to our ally escaped him. His whole behavior was that of an accomplished gentleman.[1] While Adams failed to see that the underlying motive of the visit was political, nevertheless the friendly action conveyed a world of meaning. The solicitude of the Marquis of Rockingham to hear news of Dr. Franklin and the strong bond of friendship that existed between Adams and Wentworth were just those little human elements, which might help to smooth the way for the olive branch about to be offered to the colonists by the mother country. It contained the barest suggestion that perhaps the colonial problem might yet be solved as it had been by Rockingham and Franklin in the Stamp Act crisis of 1765.

Throughout these years the governor was in constant touch with many of the leading loyalists in America and London. The letters of these exiles contain interesting comments on the social life of London in the closing years of the 18th century, and the contrasts between life in the colonies and the great

1. Charles F. Adams, "The Life and Works of John Adams", Vol.VIII Boston, 1853, p.150.

metropolis.[1] All were anxious for peace however, and a deep note of desolation permeates their correspondence on the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown. With it went their hopes ever to be united with their families and friends, and the early days of their exile must have been sorrowful ones indeed.

At the peace in 1783 it had been the intention of the Treasury to abolish the office of surveyor general of the woods in America and notice was sent to the Navy Board to discontinue the salaries of Wentworth and his three assistants in this department.[2] In consequence of the great loss of the mast country and the paucity of supplies from Canada the Treasury decided that it was no longer necessary to maintain this office in America, but the advent of the Fox-North coalition saw a change of policy. An investigation into the resources of the remaining provinces had in the meantime taken place, and because of this and partly to find a post for Wentworth it was decided to re-establish the office in the New Empire.

On September 20th, 1783 Wentworth arrived at Halifax to take up his duties as surveyor, and with the old accustomed vigor and zeal was soon enforcing the timber laws. Despite the confusion and distress which attended the settlement of the loyalists, he succeeded in organizing a large staff of efficient

1. University of London Library, "Copies of Samuel Quincy's Letters Presented by a relative in a bound volume to the University.
2. Adm.49/8, Stevens-Davies, Apr.5, 1783.

surveyors and detailed them off to the various parts of the country to post the timber proclamations, and to survey the pine areas before they could be included in the grants then being issued wholesale. Due to Wentworth's influence and the cumulative effect of a strong timber policy since 1766, the royal instructions issued to Goveror Parr contain strict provisions for pine conservation. By an Order In Council he was requested to revest in the crown all lands that "are liable to be escheated and forfeited within our said province".[1] This would bring back into the royal fold hundreds of acres which had been so lavishly granted before 1778 and which the crown now wished to grant on new terms conformable to the timber regulations and also to release large tracts for the benefit of the loyalists. Parr was also ordered not to make any grants until the surveyor of the woods or his deputies had surveyed and reserved to the crown districts where there was considerable growth of masting or other timber suitable for the navy. In addition the surveyor of the lands was neither to survey nor to convey any grant "until it shall appear to him by a wertificate under the hand of our said surveyor general of the woods or his deputy that the land so granted is not part of, or included within, any district marked out as a reservation for us, our heirs, and successors."[2]

1. P.A.N.S. 349, No.33, Additional Instructions to Parr, June 10, 1783

2. Ibid.

In order to prevent any frauds in this respect all grants hereafter made were to contain a provision which rendered nul and void any patent issued for land which on a survey was found to be within any crown reservation.

From these instructions and the system adopted by Wentworth in Nova Scotia it is evident that the naval reserve policy in the new empire aimed to safeguard the crown's interests in timber, while avoiding undue interference in the property rights of the settlers. During the first years of his residence in the province Wentworth concentrated on the territories then being settled by the loyalists, where he endeavour ed to set aside timber tracts bordering along the streams and the riverways. In all the large seaports he reserved harbour lots suitable for dockyards, and in the new townships then being laid out he instructed his deputiesto reserve the best pine tracts therein, so that he might issue certificates for the remainder. His instructions still required that all pines growing on private property were reserved to the King, but the proprietor could demand a survey of his land in order that all pines suitable for masting should be marked, thus leaving him free to clear his land.[1] For this service however, he must, if possible, pay the surveyor a fee of fifteen shillings per day and if any assistance was needed he must provide the labour or pay the deputy seven shillings per day.

1. P.A.N.S., 49, Wentworth to Pynchon and Thompson, Mar. 18, 1784.

According to Wentworth's instructions and those to the governor each patent issued must containthe clause that if thesaid grant was within any reservation made for the crown it automatically became nul and void. This necessitated every grant passing through his office before it could be issued, and for this service the grantee was also expected to pay a fee. As the loyalists were exemptfrom paying any fees Wentworth did not benefit in any way from this regulation.

Owing to the new mast laws and the problem of escheating large grants which had remained uncultivated, the task of placing the loyalists on their lands was one of confusion and distress. The urgent need of settling them on their farms was redognised by all the officers of government, and as Wentworth remarked to a friend, "you are sensible until they are on lands actually their own they are only transients, having nothing to bind or cement them and many will again migrate".[1] It was fortunate therefore that the surveyor of the woods possessed a genius for organization, and the strength and endurance needed in ranging the forests of such a wild and uninhabited country as Canada was in the 18th century. Wentworth lost no time in acquainting himself with "a general knowledge of the claims, grants and surveys and proceeded into the interior"[2] to survey

1. P.A.N.S.,49, Wentworth to G. Elliott, Apr.10,1784.
2. Ibid., Wentworth to Portland, Oct. 21, 1783

the districts then being laid out for the newcomers, and to set up an office in each township where the patents might be examined by his deputies.

Having discovered that great waste had been committed in New Brunswick he immediately posted his best men there, and his assistants penetrated deep into forests which until then had only known the tracks of Indians or Acadians. They explored the country from the St. John River to Passamaquoddy reserving in the first year about one hundred thousand acres, fifty thousand of which were along the St. Croix. By the end of 1784 Wentworth had travelled three thousand miles and had issued 234 certificates, which included grants for hundreds of settlers. Throughout the period from 1783 to 1808 there is constant violation of the timber laws. Since Nova Scotia did not possess such wide and excellent tracts of naval timber as New Brunswick, it was natural that the greatest infringement of the laws should be in that province, but the seizures and prosecutions lacked the dramatic scenes that had been characteristic of New England and the tone and language of Wentworth's letters to his deputies concerning the culprits is decidedly milder. Most of the lawsuits were brought against contractors who invaded private property. These men were under license from the crown, but the

1. P.A.N.S., 49, Wentworth to Commissioners of the Navy, Oct.8, 1784.

2. W. O. Raymond, Winslow Papers, St. John, 1901, Wentworth to Secretary of Lords of Trade, Mar.19,1791.

proprietors who held the patents without the restraining clause demanded that they pay a considerable price for the trees. With the traders and proprietors endeavouring to evade the law under the plea of encouraging settlement and stimulating commerce, a group of New Brunswick timber men persuaded Governor Carleton to petition the home government to lift the restraint on private property imposed by the early naval reserve acts.[1] Wentworth opposed this measure and as he was in London shortly after he was able to convince the Navy Board that colonists had no grounds for serious complaint. Since coming into office he had facilitated the releasing of timber not needed by the navy, and by his system of definite localized reservations he avoided the conflicts under the old system. The particular grievance in this case was the proprietor's objection to government mast cutters entering their property. It was claimed that they cut more pines that the contract called for and would bargain them off to timber traders. For their part the mast agents insisted on the rights granted to them to cut pines on private property. As the lands along the St. John River had been granted without the restraining clause of 1783 a suit was brought by a proprietor against a contractor to establish the law on this point. Wentworth maintained that by the naval reserve acts the

1. Colonial Correspondence, New Brunswick, Vol.2,p.445, Carleton to Grenville, July 15, 1791.

pines could still be claimed by the crown, and he only recognised as private property land held in Canada before the conquest of 1759. In this he was upheld by the home government and Dundas informed Carleton that "it is not deemed advisable to surrender or cecede from His Majesty's rightto the white pines reserved withinyour government for the purpose of supplying the Navy with masts".[1] On the strength of this decision it is presumed that the contractor won the case.

During the wars with France the colonial timber resources played an important role in Britain's mastery of the seas, and the contractors made great inroads into the preservations so carefully built up by Wentworth. For the first time in the history of the colonies the Navy Board was interested in American oak and Wentworth made inquiries from all quarters as to where durable oak might be found. He also experimented with birch sheathing, vessels going on the southern whale fishery with it. Through the influence of the great contractors Scott, Idles and Company, Quebec became after 1804 the center of the Canadian timber trade. Wentworth had visited there in 1784 making reservations and appointing deputies for both Upper and Lower Canada. In his reports to the Navy Board concerning these survey trips one marvels at his strength and endurance, and the spirit of adventure permeates the official pages. Setting

1. Col.Corr., N. B.,op.cit., 11, p.500, Dundad to Carleton, June 7, 1792.

out from Halifax in Arpil 1785 he explored the coasts and riverways of Cape Breton, the Chaleur country, Gaspe and the woods along the Lower St.Lawrence. This trip which lasted until November of that year took him to Quebec where he renewed old acquaintances while setting up an organization for Canada. Had Lady Wentworth been willing, he would have made Quebec his headquarters. His cousinm James Monk, was most anxious for him to remain and knowing Wentworth's love for society he says, "nor do we want an Africatic sun and Africatic females to render Quebec the celebrated Heaven of the feeling and ingenious Mahomet.....and though snow and ice surround our dance, yet we are warm and pleasure glides the hours away[1]". With this touch of eighteenth century pleasantry, Monk reminds us that something of the old French spirit of gaiety still lingered on under its Anglo-Saxon masters.

In 1788 Wentworth made another great survey, paying particular attention to the timber country of northeastern New Brunswick. At Shediac and Mirimichi the observed the "largest and best growth of true mast pine that I ever saw". Davidson, the pioneer lumber trader made this trip with him. but withdrew from fatigue and illness. Wentworth possessed an almost iron constitution, and he usually found himself going off alone through the forest with only an Acadian or Indian as guide, while his assistants were forced

1. P.A.N.S.,49, Monk to Wentworth, Jan. 22, 1785, Quebec.

to pitch camp and rest. This last trip greatly impaired his health however, and since he was rheumatically inclined, travelling knee deep in rivers and lakes greatly irritated this condition. The many and large tracts reserved by Wentworth during these years provided the crown with naval reserve that would last for generations to come. It is interesting to note that during these years he steered a middle course keeping outside the petty factions then existing in provincial life. His correspondence was as wide as ever and resolved itself into a continual chanting of Tory patriotism that expected and demanded reward . On the shores of Bedford Bason near Halifax he built a small but charming villa which he called "Friar Lawrence's Cell",to which he must have turned with a feeling of relief and pleasure after his arduous trips into the wilds. Here for ten years he and Lady Wentworth lived a very retired life, content in each other's society and in building anew a miniature Wentworth House, soon to become the official residence of His Royal Highness, Prince Edward.

Until a few years after his retirement in 1808, Wentworth continued to carry out the traditional broad arrow policy first formulated by John Bridger.in 1705. Though in a sense

he acquired an office which might almost be considered hereditary, he did not look upon it as a sinecure. While he adopted a policy of conciliation towards the colonists and wisely suggested a moderate reform, yet he never sacrificed the King's interests in the woods. Unfortunately, his reforms came too late to placate the New England lumbermen, but he succeeded in introducing them after the revolution into British North America. In this field he reveals a statesmanlike quality which contrasts sharply with his conservatism in political affairs, and he must be credited with having laid the basis for the future land policy of Canada and to a certain extent he influenced the forrestation policy of the young republic to the south.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE LOYALISTS.

A resume of the history of Nova Scotia during the years 1783-1792 is a necessary prelude to the administration of Governor Wentworth, which covers the period from 1792-1808. During these years of peace Nova Scotia changed from a backward and sparsely settled colony into the key province of England's remaining possessions in North America. This transition resulted from the success of the American Revolution, as it immediately enhanced the strategic importance of Nova Scotia to British North America, and set in motion forces of progress that otherwise must have been delayed well into the nineteenth century.

Throughout the struggle for Empire supremacy in America, Nova Scotia had played an important role as New England's outpost. With the loss of the thirteen colonies its geographical position gave it a status of somewhat similar importance in British North America. Secure in its

possession England could easily ward off an Atlantic attack on her remaining provinces, and so Halifax, its capital, replaced New York as the principal naval station for the British fleet in North American waters.

The influx of nearly thirty thousand Loyalists was likewise of fundamental importance to the development of the province. Anxious to weed out their Tory brethren, most of the States had confiscated Loyalist property and passed sentence of proscription against them. This forced thousands of Americans, who had remained loyal to the Crown, to seek an asylum either in British North America, the Bahamas or in England. In expelling the Loyalists the United States bequeathed to Nova Scotia a rich legacy, as a large percentage of them represented a section of colonial society which possessed a cultural heritage of vital importance to a new country. It is true, that among them were many disbanded troops and humble folk, but disregarding the soldier element, the Loyalists in general represented the conservative type of settler. Most of them had been freeholders living in comparative comfort in the old settled communities, and had

been forced into exile through their allegiance to King and Empire. In this they differed from the old settlers who had come to the province before the Revolution. These early settlers in Nova Scotia, Pre-Loyalists as they came to be called, numbered about fourteen thousand. They were mostly of American extraction and had prepared the way for the exiles in securing a Representative Assembly and in establishing townships of New England pattern throughout the western half of the province. They were drawn from a labouring type of settler, poor, hard bitten folk who had come to Nova Scotia in search of cheap and fertile lands following the expulsion of the French in 1755. Moved by the spirit of wanderlust they had crossed over from New England just as other of their kinsmen had pushed into the river valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. They could not be expected therefore to possess those qualities of leadership which usually distinguish men of wealth and learning, numbers of whom were to be found in the Loyalist ranks. The coming of the Loyalists into Nova Scotia therefore raised the standard of provincial society far above its former level.

A mingling of despondency and hope tinges the Loyalist post-war attitude towards life and finds reflection in their letters and activities of this period. Faced with the task of refashioning their mode of living to meet pioneer conditions it was in the nature of things that they should regard their lot with bitterness and dismay, but at the same time they attacked their problems in the keen and aggressive manner of the American colonial. There is an enthusiasm about their early efforts, both locally and at the seat of imperial government, which demonstrates their determination to rise above the fate of war and found prosperous communities under the British flag for themselves and their posterity.

The path to this objective was strewn with many obstacles but they looked to the mother country for aid in reaching it. This tendency to think as imperialists, to identify themselves as loyal members of the British Empire worthy to share its fruits as well as its adversities, is typical of their behaviour throughout this period and the administration of Governor Wentworth. It is particularly noticeable in their struggle for the exclusion of the

Americans from the West Indian markets when that matter came before the home government in 1783, and in subsequent appeals for a preference in those markets during the French Revolutionary Wars.

The influence of the United States upon the destiny of British North America, particularly Nova Scotia, forms an essential part of Canadian History. Throughout the period from 1783 to 1815 it tended not only to strengthen the bond between the mother country and the colonies, but also to sow the seeds of nationalism within the colonies themselves. That is, the colonists needed the assistance and protection of the imperial government against the growing greatness of the new republic with its early hostile attitude towards Britain and her possessions, while it forced them to think of themselves as British North Americans despite the strong spirit of particularism which flavoured provincial life.

The migration of the Loyalists into the northern provinces in 1783 affected the country as a whole. Located as they were throughout British North America they formed a strong link between the various provinces, not only were

they bound together by ties of heritage and had suffered exile as a result of their political beliefs, but they had likewise a common interest in the economic expansion of the country as a whole. This unity of interests in commercial matters is very prominent in the debates over the American Intercourse Bill of 1783, and is typical of later merchant petitions from Nova Scotia and Canada, thus providing a starting point towards a closer union.

The Loyalists also brought with them to their new homes an antipathy for republican principles, which transmitted to their descendants imparted a spirit of conservatism to Canadian politics. For every Loyalist homestead erected in the British provinces there was established a family inheriting American characteristics and traditions, but inflamed with a deep feeling of loyalty and love for English principles in government, society and, to a lesser degree, in the church. By their republican brethren they had been dubbed Tories, but it appears that many of them especially the official class, who owed their appointment to Whig patrons in England, became Tories or reactionaries only as the

resistance to Parliament widened into open rebellion.
As a result of the controversial issues which had filled the years from the Stamp Act to the Declaration of Independence, they were well versed in political theory and only their loyalty to King and Empire had prevented some of their leaders from taking the final step towards independence in the struggle over constitutional rights. It was the experience of the civil war, particularly mob violence, which caused them to become reactionaries and to regard all fundamental change as fraught with danger to the existing order of society. Even in the rebel ranks men of wealth and property soon became distrustful of contemporary democracy, and fearful of the levelling spirit settled down into staunch Federalists with the ratification of the American Constitution in 1789.

In the home country the loss of the thirteen colonies had brought with it a phase of depression, which augured ill for the future of the country. British fortunes were then at a lower ebb than they had been for centuries and when the terms of the Provisional Treaty of November 1782 were made public a deep spirit of pessimism spread throughout the nation.

Under the storm of criticism that greeted the passage of the Treaty through Parliament Lord Shelburne resigned office, leaving the Fox-North Coalition to handle the post war problems relating to North America.

The compensation of the Loyalists and the consolidation of the remaining American provinces demanded immediate attention as did the resumption of trading activities between the mother country and her former colonies. Throughout the debates on American affairs the sad plight of the Loyalists was particularly stressed, and the failure of Lord Shelburne to secure them an adequate compensation from the American Commissioners enlisted the sympathy of the entire nation.[1] Parliament however, came to their relief and the vast sums voted for pensions, compensation for property losses and the general work of reconstruction is a splendid tribute to the national honour of Britain at a time when the country was burdened with enormous debts and taxes incurred by the lat war.

While preparations were underway for the settlement of the refugees in the various provinces the question of commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States was also

1. Parliamentary History,Vol.XXIII,p.454,460,468,440.

under discussion, and was closely attended by representatives of the Loyalists, who were anxious to obtain a monopoly of supplying the West Indies. On March 3rd,1783 William Pitt introduced a bill into the House of Commons, which would place Anglo-American trade almost on the same basis as before 1775. In the debates that followed it at once became clear that there were two opposing schools of opinion as to the course that trade should follow. One of these followed the ideas of Adam Smith, who favoured free trade, while the other stood for a continuation of the old mercantile system. Behind the bill stood the West Indian Planters and the London Merchants with trading interests in America, while opposed to it were the shipowners of the Empire and the Loyalists.[1] At that time about 60,000 seamen were about to be discharged from the various war transports and it was argued that unless this great surplus of ships and men were employed in British shipping they would undoubtedly find their way into foreign service. On the other hand English merchants feared that they would lose their pre-war preference in the American markets should the Americans be excluded from the West Indies. The crucial point

1. Edmund C.Burnett,"Observations of London Merchants on American Trade,1783" American Historical Review, Vol.18, 1912-1913.

of the controversy centred therefore around the island markets, and it was here that a sharp division occurred between the commercial outlook of Planters and Loyalists. The Islanders declared that their very existence depended on a free trade policy with the States, while the British provinces put forward a similar plea for a continuation of the Navigation Acts. With Lord Sheffield as their leader, the advocates of the old mercantile system succeeded in lining up a strong party hostile to the liberal policy which Pitt had in contemplation, and their influence in Parliament soon overshadowed that of the free traders. Through their efforts the Bill was defeated and in its place a provisionnl measure was proposed and adopted whereby the King in Council might regulate trade between the two countries. According to Orders in Council of May 14th and June 6th American goods were permitted to enter Great Britain on almost the same footing as those from any British dominion, but on July 6th an order was passed whereby trade in American ships between the United States and the West Indies was practically prohibited.

In the new scheme of imperial relations it was expected

that the British provinces would replace the revolutionary colonies as sources of fish, lumber and grain for the West Indies. The demands of the Loyalists for the retention of the Navigation Acts had been motivated with this end of view. The seeds of greatness contained in the older colonies was apparent to all thinking men of the day and none knew better than the proscribed and banished exiles the ingenuity of the Americans and the wealth of their national resources. Deprived by the Peace Treaty of the valuable fur trading country, the splendid timber resources of the Penobscot District,(Maine), and forced to share with New England the fisheries off their coast, it seemed to the struggling British provinces that the only hope for the future expansion of British North America lay in shutting out the United States from the island markets. Accordingly they used every means available to press home their claims, and such men as Paul Wentworth, Silas Deane, Joseph Galloway, Brooke Watson and George Chalmers presented their case to the leading statesmen of the day. In various ways these men had gained entree to the official circles of London either through their interests or connections in the

colonies or by their activities against the Americans during the late war, and they aimed to frustrate if possible any further concessions to their former enemies. They associated therefore with Lord Sheffield and the shipping interests of England,and their activities so aroused the anger of John Adams that he accused them of making a party unfriendly to the United States and declared that "the Ministry adopt their sentiments and measures."[1.]

As Governor Wentworth was residing in London at this time it is probable that he attended the debates on the American Intercourse Bill, and collaborated with his cousin Paul Wentworth in furnishing data to substantiate the Loyalists' claims. Furthermore,as an authority on colonial affairs he was no doubt consulted by the Home Office and by leading statesmen of the day, many of whom he had come to know either through his cousin Paul or his patron the Marquess of Rockingham. From Lord Sheffield's remarks on timber, especially naval timber, it is evident that Wentworth as Surveyor General of the Woods supplied the information on this subject.[2.]

Shortly after the passing of the Order in Council on

1. Charles F.Adams,"The Life and Works of John Adams." Little and Brown,Boston,1853, III,128.

2. John, Lord Sheffield "Observations on the Commerce of the United States" J.Debrett,London,1784,p.78.

July 2nd,1783 Lord Sheffield published his pamphlet, "Observations on the Commerce of the United States," in which he also dealt with the British provinces as substitutes for the seceding colonies. This publication was in a way a veritable publicity agent for the British provinces as the popularity of the work gave it a wide circulation and thus brought before the British public for the first time a rather full and authentic account of their national resources. A warm friend to the Loyalists Lord Sheffield continued to take a deep interest in these infant colonies and his advice and assistance was often sought both by the agents and the merchants of the various provinces. After his appointment as Governor in 1792, Wentworth corresponded with him from time to time, and Lord Sheffield regularly sent him various pamphlets on agriculture and trade.

With the passing of the Orders in Council the West Indian markets experienced a temporary depression and in March 1784 the Planters renewed their former petition for a direct trade with the United States. A lengthy investigation before the Committee of Trade and Plantations followed, in which the claims

of the Loyalists and the Planters were carefully studied. The Planters in giving evidence drew a gloomy picture of the British provinces as immediate sources of supplies and declared that "neither Nova Scotia nor Canada were in a better condition to furnish the supplies than before the war."[1] Though the statements of the Planters were partly true, yet the home government preferred to regard this as a temporary conditions which would gradually give way to increased production as the Loyalists became settled on their farms. They decided therefore, on the basis of the evidence put forward during the investigation, to rely on the shipping interests of the United Kingdom to carry on a direct trade between the islands and the new republic or the indirect triangular trade between Great Britain, the United States and the West Indies.

The thorough investigation into the West Indian question reveals government's determination to win her way back to prosperity by the old mercantile route if it was at all possible. The tone of the Report of 1784 also indicates a sincere desire on the part of the mother country to aid Loyalist initiative in North America if they could do so in justice to the West Indies.

1. P.C.2,129,p.128.

THE Planters by their attempts to secure free trade with the United States had brought down on their heads the censure of those Englishmen who regarded the Navigation Acts as the bulwark of English prosperity. Among them was Viscount Sackville, the former Lord George Germaine, who expressed the fear that "there is little attachment to this country or this government to be found amongst them, and if America once flourishes as an independent state our islands will seek the first opportunity of belonging to them."[1] A rather pessimistic view but not unnatural to a defeated war minister, and one that was held by many Englishmen of the day. On the other hand, the war had forged a strong bond between the mother country and her remaining American provinces, which distinguishes their relations from those that had existed between her and the rebel colonies prior to 1775. It is true, that as French Canada had held in check the older colonies so the new republic was to operate as a factor in preserving the dependents of the remaining provinces. There is however, a deeper, stronger link than that generated by fear. It is in fact the dawn of a new imperialism, which expressed itself in a willingness to

1. Hist.Mss.Comm.Var.Coll. V1,192, Sackville to Knox, Sept.20,1783.

move forward together under one flag and one king, and in the Privy Council report of 1784 this sense of membership within the Empire is most marked.

In order to show the influence the Loyalists exerted on the economic history of Nova Scotia it is necessary to emphasise their initiative relative to the West Indian trade. It is safe to assume that without their advent into the province and their efforts to substitute Nova Scotian for New England in that trade the development of the province would have proceeded at a very slow pace indeed. Furthermore, they rendered the province a most important service by arousing public interest in this outpost of Empire. As early as 1786 a history of Nova Scotia was published in Edinburgh. Its object was to make known to the English public the resources of Nova Scotia and its dependancies, and the advantages to be gained from its development. In 1787 a second edition followed with the Canadas included.[1]

In the field of local politics they likewise displayed marked initiative and early came into conflict with the Governor and the Council. As a result of this controversy

1. S.Hollingsworth, An Account of the Present State of Nova Scotia, Edinburgh,1786.

they were partly instrumental in bringing about a partition of the province in 1784, whereby New Brunswick was created out of the territory north of the Bay of Fundy. The Islands of St.John and Cape Breton remained dependancies of Nova Scotia though each was to have its own establishment. Two years later when a Governor-General was appointed to the supreme command of the North American provinces the title of Lieutenant-Governor was substituted for that of Governor. Governor Parr, who administered the province at the time, had held a military post in the Tower of London before coming to Nova Scotia in 1782. The appointment had been promised to Governor Wentworth by Lord North, but a sudden change in administration prevented its taking place and on the formation of the Shelburne Ministry it went to Parr. Under war time conditions the appointment of a military governor was no doubt a wise measure, but the coming of peace brought with it the serious problem of settling 30,000 exiles on new homesteads in the wilderness of Nova Scotia. This required a genius for organisation which Parr did not possess, and the friction and discontent that existed throughout his administration was partly

due to his inexperience in colonial government.

A group of prominent Loyalists discouraged by the confusion and delay that attended the allocation of their grants, and the almost hopeless prospect of securing office in the established government at Halifax, petitioned the Home Government to divide the province and to give the 15,000 Loyalists settled in the country north of the Bay of Fundy a government of their own. Many of the settlements were at a distance from two to four hundred miles from Halifax, the capital. This in itself was a sound reason for establishing a separate government, particularly when the intervening country was mostly a wilderness and travel was confined to the sea route in the spring and summer months. In a recent treatise on this subject the theory has been advanced, that government's ready acquiesence to the Loyalists' demands for a separate government was due to the fact that it fitted in with a scheme already drawn up for the organisation of the British American provinces. It is assumed, that in partitioning the old province of Nova Scotia into separate governments each with its own Lieutenant Governor, the imperial statesmen were actuated by the

principle "Divide et impera."[1] According to such a thesis the home country intended this division to foster among her remaining colonies their New England attachment to localism with the object of preventing the growth of a separate movement in the future. Whether this was the guiding principle or not, colonial particularism was inevitable in these young countries. In Nova Scotia during this period even the smallest communities were divided by political and religious differences into petty factions, while lack of inland communication isloated them from one another and intensified their parochialism.[2] Provincial Rights was perhaps the main tenet of the political credo of the American colonial, and past experience had taught imperial authorities the wisdom of avoiding inter-provincial disputes, such as those which had disturbed the relations of New Hampshire and Massachusetts when those governments were united under one governor. Even if it is granted that the dismemberment of Nova Scotia was dictated by Tory or reactionary principles, the fact remains that it was in accord with the express wishes of the colonials themselves.

1. Marion S.Gilroy "The Partition of Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Review,Dec.1933; Ibid,Mar.1935.

2. S.P.G.A.,Journal 26,(Throughout the letters of the Missionaries there is constant reference to the petty disputes in these small communities.).

On the larger issue of national unity it is easy to discover tendencies towards federation, but they lacked force and usually came to the surface through economic necessity. With the Canadas isolated from the Maritime Provinces for six months out of the year the development of national sentiment was perforce to be of slow growth. A post road opened between Halifax and Quebec in 1784 did not live up to the expectations of contemporaries, that settlements would spring up along its route and thus facilitate communication between the provinces, while commercial relations between Canada and the Maritimes can hardly be said to have existed during these early years of British American History. Advocates for a federal government were not wanting during the years 1784-1791[1] but the home government discountenanced the idea with the plea that the time was not ripe for such action and that it would not be pleasing to the colonies. It is probable that federation would not have been acceptable to the people in general, In 1790 Governor Parr reported that the appointment of Lord Dorchester had served no earthly purpose in regard to Nova Scotia, but instead had lessened his dignity and was resented by some of

the inhabitants, "who wish to have a Governor of their own" and not to be considered as a dependance upon any other."[1.] Parr may have deceived himself as to the prime cause for the loss of his dignity, as it must be remembered that colonials were not noted for the formality of their manners. On the other hand there is little doubt that he gave expression to a section of contemporary colonial opinion on the institution of a Governor General, which was more or less the spirit of localism as opposed to centralization, a struggle which runs through allmodern history.

The new province of New Brunswick established for those Loyalists dwelling beyond the Bay of Fundy offered ample scope for Loyalist talent and initiative, but those who remained in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, about 20,000 in all, had to strive for a place in an established system. In the first General Election after their arrival they made every effort possible to secure a majority in the House of Assembly, which was keenly contested by the Old Settlers. Even among themselves there appears to have been a division into two groups, a popular and a court party.[2.] The Party Spirit

1. C.O.217:63,65, Parr to Nepean, July 15, 1791.

2. S.P.G.A.,N.S.,Calendar,No.212,December 2,1785.
Rev.M.Walters to Dr.Morice.

continued throughout Parr's regime and in a private letter to Evan Nepean in 1788 he attributed it to the aggressive temper of the refugees, particularly the place seekers. In referring to Loyalist complaints the local judiciary, he explains away their petition by stating that their object was to displace the judges in order to bring in Loyalists friends. The new inhabitants, he declared, had shown "a seditious, factious spirit upon the occasion, many of whom I am sorry to say have introduced republican principles who came here under the specious pretense of loyalty.....It is not an easy matter to satisfy an expecting Loyalist, their present want is every office in the government."[1] Only a Governor weary from the continual friction existing in his government could have attributed Loyalist initiative in politics to republican principles. The spirit of the Loyalists was nothing more than the natural reaction of a high minded people to defeat, and forced to begin life anew in what had long been regarded as England's most backward colony. Anxious to speed up progress and to find a niche for themselves in the life of the province, they came into collision with a group of old

settlers, who had come to the province with the founding of Halifax or following the expulsion of the Acadians. Though remaining loyal to the Crown it was well known that a large percentage of them had openly sympathised with their American cousins in the struggle over constitutional rights. The tendency on the part of the newcomers to contrast this doubtful allegiance with their own loyalty was not conducive to cordial relations. The members of the Council, the nucleus of the Pre-Loyalist party, represented the leaders of a strong faction who had gradually secured ascendancy in provincial politics after a series of bitter contests with the various Governors during the period 1758-1776. In that year the Governor(Legge) was recalled due to the unrest stirred up by his opposition to this ruling clique, which resulted in a political calm until 1783.

The injection of the Loyalist spirit into the stream of Nova Scotian politics provided a much keener opposition than that formerly offered by royal governors, and imparted a vigour to the politics of the day which was typical of a New England Assembly under the Old Regime. Both groups were but trans-

planted Americans possessed of a keen political sense. It was not any great difference in their political credo which resulted in the division of parties, but rather it would seem the Loyalist urge to bring Nova Scotia that degree of prosperity which they had known in New England. Reform was therefore an essential feature of their programme. Their activity in the Assembly, reflected as it is by their attacks on the Council and investigations into the various governmental offices, was not wholly a matter of self-seeking as interpreted by Governor Parr, though this did undoubtedly play its part. It was rather their anxious desire to shape the policy of their adopted province and the reluctance of the Pre-Loyalist group to share with them the control of the political machinery, which occasioned the sharp division between them.

Throughout Parr's administration Wentworth remained a quiet observer of the local political controversies. Most of his time was devoted to the duties of his office as Surveyor General of the Woods. During this period his correspondence lacks those critical comments on political events and personages which distinguish the letters of his correspondents. In thus

steering a middle course and keeping himself outside the factions then existing he could command the support of both parties should the administration be offered to him at any time. Though there is no open reference to his ambitions for the post,yet in the light of events in 1792 it is evident that he had not relinquished the idea of succeeding to the office whenever a vacancy should occur.

During these years he conducted many surveys throughout the Maritime Provinces, and was thus given a splendid opportunity to acquaint himself not only with the geographical features of the country, but with the social and the political problems of Nova Scotians of the post-war era. His official residence was at Halifax. When there he joined the various cultural endeavours sponsored by his fellow Loyalists. His experience in colonial administration combined with his high rank and well known influence at the Home Office gave him prestige in the province, and caused him to be frequently consulted for advice and assistance on various measures. In 1789 he was instrumental in forming an Agricultural Society at Halifax, which was shortly followed by the establishment

of branch societies in the townships. The founding of such a society is significant, not only as a reflection of the Loyalist urge to progress but because it reveals how the colonists looked to the mother country for cultural guidance. Men like Wentworth, and there were many throughout the province, were in close touch with every forward movement in England. They were quick to realise that agricultural societies such as those recently established in the home country would be of untold advantage to a young country like Nova Scotia. Many of the Loyalist towns at that time were experiencing a rapid decline owing to the ill-chosen sites hastily selected in 1783, and a marked exodus of settlers took place all over the province. It is difficult to estimate the number of those who left, but they were sufficiently numerous to give rise to anxiety among the leading members of the colony.

At the close of Parr's administration therefore, the Loyalist vision of a prosperous Nova Scotia supplanting New England in the shuttle trade with the West Indies was far from realisation. It is important to note that the leaders of both political groups were represented at the meetings of the

Agricultural Society. Here in friendly discussion they would consider the pros and cons of modern agricultural technique with the ultimate view of making the province independent of the corn market of the United States. Until that was possible there could be no real progress in Nova Scotia, and the united efforts of both parties were now directed towards the improvement of wheat cultivation and to the expansion of agriculture in general.

During the last ten years, 1783-1792, Loyalist activities had not been entirely confined to political and economic measures, but had also been directed towards the cultural improvement of the province. Through the initiative of a group of Loyalist clergymen a Church of England Seminary(King's College) was founded in 1789 to save the youth of Nova Scotia from going to seminaries in the United States, which it was thought would undermine their loyalty. The fear of contemporary democracy made these men anxious to safeguard for their posterity the political ideals for which they had suffered so much. Believing that the British Constitution offered society the best form of government the world had yet produced

they thought of all change in this respect with displeasure. It was a fixed opinion among the leading Loyalists that the evolution of American democracy had been hastened towards republicanism by the weakness of the Established Church. Before the revolution many of them, notably Wentworth, had been zealous to extend the influence of the Church with a view to opposing the strong democratic spirit then abroad in the colonies. To them dissent and republicanism were synonymous terms. It was natural therefore, that in their new homes they should seek to strengthen this bulwark of the established order. Accordingly in 1787 a bishopric was erected, and henceforth with the province organised into parishes and a Church of England clergyman and school-master established in almost every township, the Loyalists hoped to inculcate in the youth of the province loyalty to the King of England as well as to the King of Kings.

## CHAPTER V.

# GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA.

With his financial affairs necessitating a visit to England, Wentworth left Nova Scotia in the summer of 1791, and was in London when news was received of the sudden death of Governor Parr at Halifax on November 25th. Before his departure for Nova Scotia to take over his duties as Surveyor General of the Woods in 1783, he had appointed his cousin Paul to be his agent, with authority to draw on his official salary and to manage his affairs in general. Before his association with English politics, Paul had been in the service of a foreign power in South America, presumably the Dutch, and owned and operated a large plantation in Surinam.[1] He was well known in the banking circles of Amsterdam and London, and was instrumental in floating government bonds, particularly the Loyalist Loan.[2] His knowledge of foreign languages and his important contacts in the capitals of Europe had made him an invaluable assistant

1. British Museum, Add.Mss., 38211,Liverpool Papers,p.165, Paul Wentworth to Lord North, June 29,1779.

2. British Museum, Add.Mss., 34415,Auckland Papers,Vol.14,p.148, P.Wentworth to Eden, Feb.22.1775.

to William Eden during the American Revolution, but by 1791 it appears that he was in the secret service of another country. This may have occasioned his hurried departure from England, but it is just as likely that he had gambled too heavily and fled the country in order to escape his creditors.

As early as 1786 Wentworth's relatives in London had advised him to transfer his accounts to another agent, because of the mysterious manner in which Paul conducted his business, but having been in the confidence of his cousin, to whom he was deeply attached, Wentworth discounted these warnings until it was too late. When he did demand a settlement, Paul attempted to show in an audit of the joint account, that the Governor was indebted to him for some thousand pounds. The reverse was actually the case, and when Wentworth arrived in England in a last minute effort to save his fortune Paul had absconded, leaving him practically penniless and taking with him valuable jewels, silver plate and family paintings belonging to Mrs.Wentworth.[1.] Throughout his life Wentworth was constantly worried by

1. P.A.N.S., 53, p.215-218, Wentworth to Frederici,May 16,1801; P.A.N.S., Wentworth Papers,Vol.1,Wentworth Jnr. to Wentworth, Mar.30.1788.

financial difficulties. In his own right he had never been a rich man, but in his youth he seemed destined to inherit a large fortune. His first disappointment came when as heir to his rich uncle, Governor Benning Wentworth, he was suddenly disinherited in favour of his uncle's young wife, a serving maid, who had married her master a few months before his death. The scandal which followed this disclosure rent the powerful Wentworth Clan in two, and eventually led to political dissension within the colony, and an investigation of Wentworth's administration in New Hampshire by the Privy Council. Hardly had the unfavourable publicity from this misfortune died away when the American Revolution broke out, depriving him not only of a large estate in lands and personal effects, but preventing him by Act of Attainder from inheriting under his father's will. This was a great loss, for Mark Hunking Wentworth had been one of the wealthiest merchants in New England. Again in 1791 the impossible had happened. The cousin whom he had come to love as a brother had betrayed his trust, and Wentworth found

himself at the age of fifty-five a poor man, without even the optimism of youth with which to face the future.

Though Fate seemed determined to rid John Wentworth of his worldly possessions, she had given him that compensation, which next to wealth a man needs must have if he desire to rise in the world. In a view of his life from his entrance into public affairs in 1767 until his retirement in 1808 it is evident that much of his success was owing to the force of his personality. Fortune it is true favoured him at birth, and provided opportunities for advancement, but his first contacts in London reveal a charm of manner, which impressed all who met him. It is significant that a slight acquaintance with the Marquis of Rockingham during the Stamp Act crisis should have ripened into friendship, for Rockingham became more than a patron, he became his friend. In his company Wentworth met the leading Whig statesmen of the day, and during the years in London when he worked with Paul Wentworth for the Loyalist cause, his circle of political acquaintances widened. It is probable he met Henry Dundas

at this time, and also John King. Dundas had recently been appointed Secretary of State for Colonies and War, with King as Under-Secretary. Between Wentworth and King there was a strong bond of friendship, while he also had the advantage of being known personally to Dundas, who as Secretary for the Colonies controlled the patronage for most of the important posts in the province, including that of Governor. Add to this the support he received from the noted Wentworth family, and it is not surprising that Dundas should appoint him Governor of Nova Scotia almost immediately after receiving news of Parr's death.[1.] From a reference to a conversation with Dundas in December 1791, and the rapidity with which the office was filled, it seems safe to infer that Wentworth had secured the right of succession even before it was known that Parr's illness had proved fatal.[2.] Fortunate though he was in enjoying the patronage of His Majesty's Ministers, yet his past experience as Governor of New Hampshire, and his many services to Government gave him a claim to the office which the Administration could by no means ignore, even if they wished to favour another. Moreover, there was probably a feeling of compassion for

1. C.O.217:63,p.457, Finlayson to Hepburn, June 10,1792. This letter shows that Wentworth's patronage was solicited as early as December,1791.

2. C.O.324:45,p.301, A commission was granted to Wentworth, Jan.13,1792.

him in official circles because of the manner in which he had been deprived of his small fortune, which formed the residue of the compensation allowance granted him by Parliament as a Loyalist.

In selecting Wentworth as Parr's successor Dundas had made an ideal choice both from a colonial and imperial viewpoint. It gave the home government, as well as the colony, the advantage of having as Governor one who understood colonial character and the problems peculiar to colonial life. The spirit of dissension, which existed in Nova Scotia between the old and the new settlers, called for an executive who could bridge the gap between the two groups. This Parr had been unable to do chiefly because of his inexperience in civil government, and his inability to win over the Loyalist party. Bishop Inglis summed up the situation when he declared that Parr was a "good tempered, hospitable man, but having been educated and even bred in the army, his ideas are all military, which had chiefly occasioned his bustle."[1] On the other hand, Wentworth was very popular with the Loyalists, while he was also regarded at the time in a very friendly

1. C.O.217:63,p.303,Archbishop of Canterbury to Grenville, Feb.21,1791,Enclosure from Bishop Inglis,U.S.

manner by the old settlers.[1] It was expected that his appointment would put an end to the petty disputes then troubling provincial politics. There was another advantage to Dundas in having Wentworth as Governor of Nova Scotia. Before the Revolution he had been well known throughout the colonies, and since the Peace he had continued to carry on a friendly correspondence with some of his relatives and former acquaintances. Many of them were leading merchants in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and from the tone of the correspondence there is a temptation to infer that some of these men had been passive Loyalists. In this way he kept in close touch with political affairs in the new republic, and though the international situation in 1792 indicated peace, yet a break with France could not have escaped the attention of His Majesty's Government.[2] In the event of ~~which~~ this it was possible that the United States would not remain indifferent because of her Treaty of Alliance with her former ally. Dundas, who was Secretary of War as well as Secretary for the Colonies appreciated fully the possibilities of Wentworth's American connections with the States.

1. S.P.G.A., Journal 26,p.31.

2. Parl.Reg.,Commons,1794,Vol.37,p.400,Sheridan said the Ministry knew war was inevitable Aug.1792.This is contrary to opinion generally held that the possibility of war had escaped the prescience of the Ministry until Dec.1792.

Through the influence of Dundas, Wentworth was allowed to continue in his office as Surveyor of the Woods, which was almost vital to him at the time because of the low state of his finances. An annual salary of £1000 plus £400 in fees was allotted to the office of Governor, while that of Surveyor brought him £800 plus fees, which at the most gave him a total annual income of £2500. For many reasons this was to prove inadequate. With his private income gone he gradually sank into debt, and became involved once more in a public scandal which almost resulted in his recall in 1801. Then, as in 1773, influential patrons intervened on his behalf and saved him from official censure. Political patronage is therefore, a salient feature of Wentworth's career, and if his administration is to take on its full meaning, it is necessary to keep in mind the eighteenth century place system. His influence at the Colonial Office had a direct bearing on Nova Scotian history. It made possible the introduction into Nova Scotia of a family system of government, which the Wentworths had practised in New Hampshire under the Old Regime, and which in the New Empire was to become a progressive irritant in the struggle for Responsible Government.

1. C.O.217:72,p.84,Wentworth to Dundas,undated paper.

Such things however, were as yet in the future when he arrived at Halifax on May 12th, 1792 to take over the administration of the province. On disembarking he was met by the leading members of the government, the church and the army, and the warm reception tendered him augured well for the new era about to dawn for Nova Scotia. As he passed along the route acknowledging the greetings of the people,who had gathered after Sunday morning service to welcome their new Governor, his thoughts must have turned to another such day when he rode through the streets of Portsmouth to be installed as successor to his old and autocratic uncle, Governor Benning Wentworth. Then he had about him all the enthusiasm of youth entering into public life for the first time. He had returned to New Hampshire with great plans for its future, but while he infused a spirit of progress into New Hampshire life he had been powerless to stem the tide of revolutionary doctrine, and was himself swept aside in the political upheaval that followed the overthrow of the King's government in July 1775. From point of ceremony, the inauguration at Halifax in 1792 may have differed little from that enacted at Portsmouth in 1767, but the experiences

of civil war and the passing of youth had left its trace on the man about to take the seals of office. John Wentworth was now well advanced in middle life, with a tendency to corpulency and a slight stooping of the shoulders. The arduous task of surveying the King's Forests during the past ten years had robbed him of much of the glow and vigour of early manhood, but his eyes still held their kindly smile, while the added years had lent a gracious dignity to the courtly manner of the young colonial aristocrat. During his recent visit to England the reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution had already set in, and as he witnessed the arrival of French emigrees old wounds were re-opened and memories stirred, for it made him think of the days when he, too, sought refuge from revolution. It was inevitable therefore that he should bring to his administration in Nova Scotia a deep distrust of contemporary democracy. In this he was typical of his class, who in general regarded the exponents of liberty and equality as the enemies of civil order.

As in Europe, public opinion in the United States was likewise divided by recent events in France. The Federalists, representing the conservative element, placed themselves on the

side of law and order, when once the revolution had passed the stage of constitutional reform and had entered that phase of excess into which the idealists had hastened it. The Republicans, on the other hand, dreamed of a new age about to dawn for mankind, and celebrated with civic feasts and liberty cockades the emancipation of their French brethren. One ardent American regarded it as a manifestation from Heaven, and deeply regretted that he might not live to witness the approaching regeneration of the world.[1.] It was indeed a time of change, when mens' souls rebelled or quickened at the onward march of events. Wentworth, through birth, experience and temperament set his face against the changing order and preferred to feel about him the security of ancient institutions.

Glancing back at this period of Nova Scotian history, modern opinion is tempted to deride the anxieties of reactionaries like Wentworth. It is easy to see now that there was no cause for alarm in the little burst of liberalism that occurred during his administration, for there was no pronounced conflict of ideas in the colony, such as existed in Europe or in the neighboring States. Nevertheless, his attitude towards constitutional reform is not

1. Belknap Papers, Vol.3, p.527, B.Rush to Belknap, undated letter.
"I anticipate with joy.....the speedy end of the misery of the Africans, the tyranny of Kings, the pride of the ecclesiastical institutions,.....the end of war, and.....capital punishments."
Rush thus expresses the ideals of many reformers of the day.

unintelligible when it is remembered that past experience had shown him how quickly reform movements could spread to revolution. The part played by popular leaders in engineering the American Revolution made him suspicious of any liberal Assemblyman gifted as an orator, and ambitious to shine as a leader among his fellow representatives. Moreover, the new spirit abroad in the world made him anxious to strengthen, and, if possible, to widen the power of the executive as a check against the imprudence of democracy.

The civil list granted by Parliament towards the support of the provincial government strengthened his hand in this respect. During his administration he used it effectively as a means to this end. On the eve of the American Revolution Parliament's proposal to provide a civil list had been regarded in the older colonies as a direct attack on the political liberties of the American people.[1] Nova Scotia however, could hardly regard it as a grievance. Unlike the thriving New England colonies, she was still in that period of her history which might be described as her adolescent stage. During Wentworth's term of office she casts off her swaddling clothes

1. S.E.Morrison, "Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788," Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1923, p.91.

and begins to grow up. When he took office, not only was she unable to support an establishment, but the provincial debt had risen to approximately £[illegible]5,000. The immediate problem of the Legislature was economic rather than political.

Wentworth sought therefore, to direct the energies and ambitions of his people towards a solution of the economic difficulties then troubling provincial life. At the same time, by a gradual disposal of patronage he built up a political party strong enough to counteract any opposition, that might be raised by the popular leaders in the Assembly. The outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1793 eased matters for him. It temporarily withdrew popular attention from politics, and forced people to sink their differences before the more urgent matter of defence. Not until the opening of the 19th century did the question of "Rights and Privileges" come to the fore again when Richard John Uniacke and William Cottnam Tonge led the opposition against the Administration Party formed by Wentworth in the interim. The keynote to the first half of his administration is harmony between the different branches of the Legislature, accompanied by marked economic expansion,

and a general tendency among the people at large to give heed to the current dictum,

"Fear God, Honour the King, and Meddle not with those that are given to Change".

# CHAPTER VI.

## NOVA SCOTIA ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WARS.

When Wentworth arrived at Halifax in the spring of 1792 the prospect before him was by no means bright. The province was experiencing a depression. The public debt was large, the collection of taxes difficult, and the smuggling carried on in the fisheries hampered trade and caused many Nova Scotians to declare that "Nova Scotia was fast becoming a fishing colony to the United States." Nature too seemed bent on adding to his difficulties. Spring floods, forest fires and a severe drought which blighted the crops, had brought suffering and loss to many communities. To deepen the spirit of dejection then pervading provincial life, a flourishing whaling establishment at Dartmouth was in the process of being transferred to Milford-Haven in Wales.

With something of the spirit which had distinguished him as a young Governor in New Hampshire, he immediately sought to lift the flagging spirits of the people, and to stem the tide of emigration to the United States and Upper Canada. His first concern was to provide means for

increasing the revenue. Since the founding of the colony in 1749 the public debt had been increasing annually, until by 1792 it amounted to approximately £24,000. Through his initiative and support the Assembly passed an Excise Bill, which levied a duty of two and one-half per cent on all goods, wares and merchandize imported into the province. An additional tax of three pence per gallon was also laid on all spirituous liquors, and an additional duty of five per cent on non-resident traders, except British.[1] The last mentioned tax aimed at transient persons who frequently came from the United States for temporary commercial purposes, and through whom concealed importations of foreign merchandize made their way into the province to the detriment of the revenue.

The Excise Bill was stoutly opposed by the merchants, who protested in a petition to the Assembly that it would hamper trade.[2] Wentworth feared that this group might misrepresent the bill to the home authorities, and arouse opposition to it on the grounds that the local sales of British merchandize might be effected by this tax. He took

1. C.O.217:64,p.152, Assembly Journal, N.S.,June 28,1792.
2. Ibid. p.144.

the precaution therefore, of writing a long and detailed letter on the benefits to be derived from the bill to a relative in London, who forwarded it to John King, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.[1] In consequence of Wentworth's recommendation and government's anxiety to see public credit restored in the province, the bill received the royal assent, as did the other measures enacted for an increase of the revenue. During the last administration attempts to secure an increase in the revenue returns had failed, and the collection of taxes still remained irregular and unsystematic. This was partly due to the unpopularity of some of the taxes imposed, and the laxity of the magistrates and revenue officers in enforcing the laws. Since the new taxes would be borne equally by all the citizens it was thought that there would not be any serious opposition to them, while an attempt was made to improve the system of collection. The Poll tax levied in 1791 was most unpopular with the people, and continued so despite every effort of the Assembly to enforce it.[2] On the motion of William Cottnam Tonge it was amended in 1792, whereby a shilling was imposed on every male person over twenty-one years of age not otherwise taxed in this Act. For over six years Tonge urged the

1. C.O.217:63,p.459, Fisher to King, July 18.1792.
2. C.O.217:68,p.57, Council Minutes,N.S., 1797.

Assembly to strictly enforce the Act, and it was principally through his efforts that the returns were as large as they were.

Tonge had recently been elected as member for the township of Newport to fill the seat left vacant by the death of his father, Winckworth Tonge. His forceful personality made itself felt in the very first session he attended, and indicated that he would play a leading role in provincial politics during Wentworth's administration. His earliest efforts were directed towards introducing method into the revenue department. By the end of 1796 he was successful in collecting about £3,500 in Poll taxes.[1] In the following year however, conditions had so improved that it was agreed to suspend any future assessment of this tax except for arrears. An examination of the Customs receipts likewise revealed irregularity in the accounts of the collectors, with marked negligence in the discharge of their duties.[2] In this matter the Assembly took a very firm attitude and all public defaulters who failed to pay into the provincial Treasury the amounts then outstanding, were liable to prosecution.

1. C.O.217:65, Assembly Journal,N.S., April 16,1793.
   C.O.217:68, Assembly Journal,N.S., March 28,1796.

2. C.O.217:66, Assembly Journal,N.S., June 27,1794.
   C.O.217:67, Assembly Journal,N.S., April,1795.

In carrying out the retrenchment policy which they had adopted in order to restore public credit, the Assembly not only reduced official salaries, but in their zeal for economy dispensed with the service of the Crown Prothonotary, when they discovered that he executed the duties of his office by deputy. This particular case is of interest in that it illustrates the reluctance of the home government to interfere in matters purely domestic. Thompson had received his appointment by Royal Mandamus in 1786, but his salary of £100 was paid for by the Provincial Treasury. As the Assembly were no doubt anxious to end this arrangement, they took the opportunity afforded them at this time to withdraw their support from an office, which came under the [1.] patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State. Though Dundas regretted the decision, he warned Wentworth not to urge the point, and quietly transferred Thompson's salary to the Civil List provided by Parliament, with the proviso that it should cease whenever the Nova Scotia Assembly should make some provision for him.[2.] The Assembly did not reverse its decision, and for many years after Thompson continued to draw his salary from the Imperial Treasury.

1. C.O.217:63,471-73, Memo of William Thompson to Dundas, August 8,1792.

2. C.O.218:27,No.16 - Dundas to Wentworth,February 14,1794.

While His Majesty's Ministers might wish to avoid discussion on subjects of a constitutional nature, their attitude towards the establishment of the Whale Fishery in Nova Scotia clearly indicates that they had no such qualms in matters relating to trade and industry. When Wentworth took office, he found awaiting him instructions to aid and facilitate the removal of the Whale Fishery from the town of Dartmouth to Milford-Haven in Wales. Though he questioned the expediency of it, yet he succeeded in carrying it through without any unpleasant incident despite popular resentment at its loss. The Whale Fishery established at Dartmouth (a small settlement opposite Halifax) in 1786 had prospered far beyond the expectations of its founders. In five years British merchandize to the value of £150,000 had been imported into the province through the medium of this industry. Nova Scotia could hardly view with indifference therefore, its transfer to Wales, especially when the Provincial Treasury had voted £1500 to assist in its establishment. In a letter to Brook Watson, the London agent for the Whalers, Richard John Uniacke, the

Solicitor-General, plainly stated the sentiments of the colonists on the matter.[1] Concerning the mission of Stokes, the Agent sent out to America by the Honourable Charles Francis Greville to secure drafts from the Whaling settlements at Nantucket, Massachusetts, and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Uniacke remarked -

"It operates as a pregnant notice to them (which ought always to be avoided) that when the interests of Great Britain interfere, those of the colonies are not to be regarded. I am therefore glad, at least, that Mr. Stokes has not appeared expressly commissioned for this purpose by government, but by individuals".[2]

Since the Peace in 1783 Greville had been one of the keenest opponents to the establishment of a colonial whale fishery. In 1784 he advised the Privy Council "that the Whale Fishery ought not in policy to be made a colonial fishery, because it could be carried on with equal advantage from Great Britain, and Governor Parr was at that period ordered not to admit more Nantucketers".[3] During the intervening years he had worked steadily to establish a whaling

1. P.A.N.S.,48,No.81,Wentworth to King,Sept.14,1792.
2. C.O.217:63,318,Watson to Grenville,letter dated Jan,8,1791.
3. Add.Mss.38228,Greville to St.Barbe,July 7,1792. This letter is an account of Greville's attempts to transfer the Nantucket Whalemen,particularly Rotch,to England and the difficulties put in his way by the London Company. It is more or less a summary of British policy in relation to the Whale Fishery, 1785-1792.

industry at his estate in Wales, and to eliminate both colonial and foreign competition to British Whaling. In 1790, through the co-operation of Lord Grenville, he obtained from the Committee of Trade and Plantations, a resolution inviting American and Nova Scotian whalemen to transfer their establishments to Wales.[1] As President of the Committee of Trade, Lord Hawkesbury had zealously guarded the rights of the British whaling industry since his appointment in 1784. It was only when France began to develop her interests in the Southern Whale Fishery, by extending special privileges to American whalemen (at Nantucket and also Nova Scotia) tosettle at Dunkirk, that he consented to invite these people to England.

In Nova Scotia the home government's sanction of the matter left a rather pessimistic outlook for the future economic development of the colony. This was not unnatural, expecially when Greville's influence with His Majesty's Ministers had been great enough to deprive the colony of its most promising industry. It is a matter of conjecture however, whether private interest would have prevailed if French

1. C.O.217:36, Greville to Grenville, Feb.26,1791.

competition had not reared its head and if the whale fishery had not been regarded in the home country as an object of national importance. Like the Newfoundland fishery the whaling industry served as a nursery for seamen, a vital concern to a naval power like Great Britain. According to the views of contemporary English statesmen the mother country was quite within her rights in reserving to herself an industry, which was an important naval reserve. Even at the last moment the plan almost failed. The effect of Uniacke's letters was to raise doubts in official circles as to the authenticity of the proposals forwarded to the Board of Trade from Dartmouth.[1] The petitions of the local whalemen, asking the Board to assist them in transferring their interests to Wales, were made to appear as if dictated to them by Governor Parr on the advice of Lord Grenville, and not purely voluntary as presented to the Board. The determination of Charles Francis Greville and the influence he possessed with His Majesty's Ministers was strong enough to overcome this difficulty, and the proposals stood as presented. The

1. C.O.217:36,Greville to Grenville,Feb,26,1791. This letter reveals that the letter of introduction which Lord Grenville gave to Stokes,Greville's agent,did not contain any specific instructions concerning the transfer of the whalemen to Gt.Britain.It also shows that Grenville,alarmed at colonial opposition to the transfer, intended to make Gov.Parr the scape-goat for the indulgence he had granted to Greville. Greville prevailed on him not to censure Parr before the Board.

cost entailed in the change of centres was also taken care of by the home government.

While Bentworth was engaged in supervising the transfer of the Whalers, he very wisely attempted to focuss popular attention on public improvements in order to remove in part the unpleasant feeling stirred up by this event. As a conciliatory gesture towards the town of Dartmouth, he influenced two of the leading merchants to erect a flour mill in the settlement, and by other such measures he so identified himself with the active life of the people that he very soon won their confidence and co-operation in all matters relating to the development of the colony. As a Loyalist, it was expected that he would give every assistance possible to the town of Shelburne, where a spirit of dejection prevailed among the settlers as they watched the almost daily exodus of their fellow Loyalists for more prosperous centres. Large expense had been incurred by the province in erecting a lighthouse at Shelburne, but through disagreements and misunderstandings the building had not been used. In a few months after his appointment

Wentworth succeeded in having it lit, much to the satisfaction of the traders and fishermen who still remained in the settlement.

The founding of Shelburne had been a serious blunder. With an enthusiasm that seemed justified in 1783, the Loyalists had planned to develop Nova Scotia into a fitting substitute for New England in the West Indian trade. Unfortunately, in that whirl of distress and despair which characterised their evacuation from the revolutionary colonies, their first thought was to find an asylum from the wrath of their rebel brethren. In this way they found themselves hurriedly transported and set down on the shores of Nova Scotia without much thought as to what awaited them there. By the very nature of this great exodus of peoples the organisation formed for their immediate relief was necessarily weak and inadequate. The inevitable result was confusion accompanied by great suffering and disillusion for many. The immediate effect of their coming was three or four years of unprecedented activity throughout the entire province, and settlements sprang up like magic along

the coast and in the interior. Then followed a gradual decline in most of the new towns particularly Shelburne, which had been founded with high hopes for its success as a great commercial centre. Though possessed of a splendid harbour, and within easy reach of the West Indies, it was nevertheless an unfortunate location. The merchants, who had come well equipped to carry on the West Indian trade, soon discovered that very little timber grew in the vicinity of the port, while the want of navigable rivers and roads for communication with the interior made the task of bringing the lumber to market a very costly one. Moreover, the surrounding country was not favourable to farming, which meant that fish was the only staple that could be shipped to the islands at a profit.[1] The trading element in the community was faced therefore, with the gradual diminution of their capital should they continue to make Shelburne their headquarters, and after a few years' trial they began to transfer their interests to more favourable centres. With their going the depopulation of the town set in rapidly, and soon deserted houses and empty streets

1. C.O.217:63,38, Petition of Shelburne Merchants to Lord Grenville, June 16, 1791.

cast a spell of desolation over what had been a great adventure. By the close of the eighteenth century there remained only about six hundred persons out of the original six thousand or more who had come in 1783.[1.]

Other Loyalist towns also experienced a depression on the eve of Wentworth's appointment, which gave a temporary setback to the post war development of the colony, while this second forced migration of the Loyalists filled their souls with bitterness at the relentless manner in which an unhappy fate pursued them. Those who ventured to return to their former homes in the States, and others who went to Upper Canada dubbed the colony "Nova Scarcity", but they were a minority, and already their loss was being partially made good by the arrival of six hundred Scottish immigrants, who came to Pictou at the close of 1791.[2.]

This town, founded in 1767 by a group of Scotch-Irish from Philadelphia, became in time a veritable haven for the outcast Highlander, dispossessed of his land by the enclosure system then being adopted throughout Scotland by the great landowners.[3.] Since the Peace of 1783 a trade in

1. Marsden, (Joshua) A Narrative of a Mission in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, London 1816, p.22.
2. P.A.N.S.,50,23 - Wentworth to Long, Dec.3,1792. (British Govt.granted relief to people who were destitute on arrival).
3. Helen I.Cowan, Br.Emigration to Br.North America,1783-1837.

timber had sprung up between Greenock, Scotland, and Pictou, which afforded cheap transportation to the poor Scot, who made up the balance of the cargo on the return journey to the new world. As friend followed friend, the Scottish element soon became a force in the province. Though it is not possible to state the exact numbers who came during Wentworth's administration, at least five thousand have been accounted for from government and county records.[1] Most of those who did come were penniless and dependent on their kindred and neighbours to aid them through the first few years, but in contrast to the unfortunate Loyalists who had settled at Shelburne, they found awaiting them a country ideally situated for carrying on the timber trade and the fisheries, and blessed,moreover, with rich, abundant soil. The rapid development of Pictou during this period counterbalances the decline of Shelburne, and while the departure of so many Loyalists was a great loss, yet the new settlers were of a type most wanted by the country in this stage of her development.

Nova Scotia's great need at this time was labourers

1. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Long, December 3,1792.
   P.A.N.S.,53,367-383, Wentworth to Hobart, Sept.10,1802.
   Ibid.p.376-387.

for her farms and her fisheries, and Wentworth was not very encouraging to any professional man who sought a place in the colony. In a letter to Evan Nepean of the Colonial Office in December 1792, he informed him that the Legal Profession was already overcrowded, and the business of the lawyers greatly diminished. With a bombastic flourish, which he so often adopted, he sums up his letter to Nepean by acquainting him that -

"the origin of our titles are yet so recent and their mutations so few, that they do not yet furnish sufficient intricacy or duplicity for their ingenuity." [1] - an observation which reminds us that the Governor was an ardent admirer of the great contemporary Sam Johnson, and was living in the days when the landowning interests ruled England, and society still centred round the country squire. In this system the English notary had found a secure and comfortable niche, but in Nova Scotia he had to pool his talents in the struggle for existence.

When John Wentworth looked out over his province with its population of approximately 40,000, [2] he saw an

1. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Nepean, Dec.13,1792.

2. British Museum,7078,de 18,"Letters and Papers on Agriculture" John Home, Halifax,1791, p.30. (Extracts from the correspondence of the N.S. Agricultural Society.).

extensive country covered with woods and intersected with lakes and rivers. The settlements were more or less isolated from one another by lack of roads and bridges, and traffic between them was mostly by canoe or small coastal vessels. In the interior travellers followed the old Indian and French trails through the forest, preferring to make their journey in the winter when the hard frost and snow permitted a quick journey on snow shoes. During the summer months the forests were almost impassable, as the sun was unable to penetrate through the heavy growth of trees and at times the traveller would find himself wading knee deep in swamps.[1] During these pioneer days therefore, the colonists tended to live near the coast or along the bays and rivers of the interior. Most of the settlers lived in log cabins or wooden cottages, but many of the poor fishermen dwelt in what can only described as crude huts, meagrely furnished with articles of household use carved from the trees in the nearby forest. Each household was dependent on the labour of the man or men in the family for its subsistence, while the handicraft of the women clothed them with homespun and provided many other

1. Marsden, op.cit.; S.P.G.A., Journal 26, p.240, Rev.Ormond to Dr.Morice, Jan.9, 1794.

necessaries for the home.

In those early days Nova Scotian society judged a settler by his vigour, thrift and courage. Men worked early and late to plant their small crops among the charred stumps in the clearings, while the women braved loneliness and hardships,and because all had to work hard for a living, all classes were brought to a common level. A Methodist Missionary travelling through the country at this time was deeply impressed by the friendly spirit of the people, and in a narrative of his mission there paid them the following tribute,

"Perhaps in no part of the world is there a kinder or more generous society than the flock at Halifax, indeed this is characteristic of most of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia; these wild woods are the nurseries of real kindness and their frozen climate is a noble theatre of hospitality; few people in any part of the world treat strangers with more kindness or manifest more affection for their ministers than the inhabitants of this province" 1.

In the old settled communities the home of the merchants

1. Marsden, op.cit., p.15.

and prosperous farmers were well built and comfortably furnished, while the leading Loyalists had likewise built commodious dwellings. This class increased in wealth and numbers during Wentworth's administration through the impetus given to commerce by the French Revolutionary Wars, and their influence on all aspects of provincial life was very marked during these years. Halifax, the capital, had a population of about nine thousand and was the centre of political, commercial and social activities.[1] It was built on a hill overlooking the harbour and presented a fine appearance to the visitor on his approach by water. Perhaps that which first impressed travellers from the old world "was to see the houses, though built of wood, wear an elegant, clean and neat appearance."[2] Here resided the principal officers of the government, the army and the navy. With the coming of Wentworth as Governor the tone of Halifax society underwent a great change. It became in a sense an aloof, compact little world, with the Governor and his circle setting a standard equal to that maintained by the most exclusive circles of contemporary

1. Beamish Murdock, History of Nova Scotia, Barnes,Halifax, Vol.III.p.125.

2. Marsden, op.cit.,p.15.

Philadelphia or Charlestown. Balls, routs, and military parades were frequent, while a small theatre expensively furnished was well patronised by the upper stratum[1]. At times the officers of His Majesty's garrison would present a play or a musicale, or occasionally a visiting troup of players enroute from England to leading American cities would be the perfomers. The whole tone of Halifax life was keyed to a much faster tempo than that of any other town in the province. A visitor from the country must have gazed in wonder at the fashionable folk alighting from their sedan chairs or coaches, dressed in the latest London mode, to attend a ball at Government House or a whist and supper at the Admiral's.

The presence in the province of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, during the years 1794 to 1800 lent a regal air to these gatherings, and happy was the merchant's wife and daughter bid to attend the official parties. It was not infrequent for the military and naval officers to marry the daughters of the wealthy merchants, and in this way helped to bridge the social gulf between the official class

and the people. During this per od Liverpool, Barrington, Yarmouth and Pictou were perhaps the towns next in importance to Halifax. Here also could be found some fine old homesteads, well furnished and filled with treasures brought back by the merchant traders from their voyages to Asia, Europe or South America. Such then was the structure of social life in Nova Scotia during Wentworth's administration. Perhaps nothing is so characteristic of Wentworth's life as the exquisite courtesy of his manners, and the high level to which he raised provincial society served as a model to future generations.

Though Wentworth was essentially an aristocrat in mode of thought and living, he had nevertheless a decided middle class bent for trade and commerce. His correspondence reveals this Yankee element in his character, which made use of every opportunity to advertise to the world the possibilities of Nova Scotia. It might almost be said that during this period he was her best salesman, though at times carried away by enthusiasm for his sea girt province, he would overestimate its potential value. From his early

reports and from the tone of the Assembly Journals there is every evidence of the ready response of the Nova Scotians to his leadership. Like most of them he had come to think of Nova Scotia as home, and to take a natural pride in its development. Moreover, he came to the province well aware of its local problems, and an intimate knowledge of colonial economy. It was most natural therefore, that his appointment should arouse in the hearts of his people hope for a general improvement in the economic life of the colony.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONY.

Given such an advantageous position on the Atlantic seaboard Nova Scotia was destined to play a prominent part in the Maritime History of British North America. Jutting out into the Atlantic and almost surrounded by the sea, its numerous bays and harbours made it inevitable that it should derive the main source of its wealth from the fisheries, shipbuilding and marine commerce. Until the close of the American Revolution however, its share in colonial and imperial trade was almost negligible. It was in truth a land rich in resources, but without a population to develop them. Perhaps the chief obstacle in its path to progress was the reputation it had gained as a cold and barren country. Down to 1783 and even for some years after the majority of people in Britain thought of it as a part of the frozen north, a land enveloped in ice and snow.

The Loyalists did much to waken public interest in the

province, but owing to the subsequent departure of so many of them the favourable impression created at the time was short lived. During Governor Wentworth's administration an earnest attempt was made by the Nova Scotians to disprove the traditional opinion so long entertained of their country. The success which attended their efforts was chiefly owing to the stimulus of war, the personality of the Governor and the initiative and resourcefulness of their leaders, particularly the Halifax merchants.

When Wentworth came into office, the province was largely dependant on the corn markets of the United States. In that year the annual imports of Flour, Indian Corn and other provisions amounted to £30,000, while £3000 of beef, butter and pork were imported from Ireland. About one half of the flour and one third of the supply of beef, butter and pork were re-ported to the fisheries of Cape Breton, the Bay of Chaleur and Newfoundland.[1] The rest was consumed principally by those engaged in the local fisheries. Owing to the fogs prevalent along the sea coast, the climate of Nova Scotia was not favourable to the cultivation of wheat. Moreover, as the winters were extremely cold and very long

1. P.A.N.S. 48,No.81,Wentworth to King,Sept.14,1792.
   Custom/5,96,Exports and Imports of Ireland,Mar.25,1793.

they shortened the season for farming, and prevented that extensive cultivation of the soil as carried on in the American States to the south. Climate alone was not responsible for the backward state of Nova Scotia in agriculture. Scarcity of labour, lack of inland communication and the difficulties encountered in clearing forest land were factors of equal importance in checking agricultural expansion. Such conditions fostered the use of outmoded and almost primitive farming methods.

In an effort to stimulate interest in modern agricultural technique, Agricultural Societies were established in the counties and Directors appointed in twenty-six townships to conduct meetings and to correspond with the main society at Halifax. Among the papers read at the meetings those from local members show a wide reading in farm periodicals and the work of such noted agriculturalists as Arthur Young and the Abbé Bralle.[1.] Here, as in other fields of endeavour, the leading Nova Scotians of this period showed themselves to be men of marked initiative and ability who faced their problems with discernment and energy. Although the Agricultural

1. Howe, op.cit.

Societies helped to diffuse knowledge of better farming practices, there could not be any appreciable increase in agricultural production until inland communication was improved. The most fertile lands in the province were those bordering along the Bay of Fundy, the Bason of Minas, Chignecto Bay and Northumberland Strait. Halifax, situated on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia and midway between Cape Sable and Cape Canso, was the principal port of entry and the only important market in the province. Shelburne the other port of entry had little trade. It was mostly engaged in coastal traffic with the fishing settlements of Cape Breton and Newfoundland. To facilitate the means of transportation between the western districts and Halifax became therefore the main problem of the agriculturist.

As President of the Agricultural Society and aware of the economic difficulties of the province, Wentworth could hardly delay in projecting some plan for internal improvement. Owing to an empty Treasury and the extreme poverty of the people he did not look for any immediate progress. In his opening address to the Assembly he directed the attention of

the House to the matter. A few months later he made a determined effort to open a road between Halifax and Pictou.[1] It is true that on this occasion he was personally interested. Such a road would greatly increase the value of his large grants in the neighbouring district of Manchester, but it is typical of Wentworth that he should make an appeal to the public spirit of the people to carry through the enterprise. As in New Hampshire, one of the leading principles of his policy in Nova Scotia was to waken the people to a sense of their responsibility to the colony and to take a pride in its development. In this way taxes would be more readily paid and a revenue provided for carrying on public works.

In 1793 France declared war on England, and for the time being Wentworth was engrossed in problems of defense. William Tonge however, introduced in this year an excise bill with the dual purpose of providing for the support of the provincial government and for the encouragement of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Commerce.[2] The bill passed both houses and the basis was thus laid for providing a fund for subsidizing these industries in the future. Following the outbreak of

1. P.A.N.S.,48,No.81, Wentworth to King,Sept 14,1792.
2. C.O.217:65,p.175, Assembly Journal,N.S.,April 22,1793.

war the farmers found a ready market and good prices for their produce. During the spring and summer months the North Atlantic Squadron made Halifax their headquarters. Frigates came into port frequently for provisions and repairs, while there was always a number of prisoners to be fed in addition to the inhabitants and the provincial regiment. Under the stress of war and the blessing of good harvests there was soon an appreciable increase in agricultural production, while there was also marked improvement in inland communication. On the other hand, retrogression is the key note in the Fisheries during the years 1792-1802.

Since the Peace in 1783, the Fishing Rights granted to the United States by the Treaty of Versailles had been a serious handicap to the Nova Scotians. By the third article of that Treaty it was agreed,

"that the people of the United States should continue to enjoy the unmolested right to take fish at all places, where the inhabitants of both countries used heretofore to fish."[1.]

1. C.O.217:69,p.296,Temple to Leonard,May 22,1798; (Enclosure from Lisbon,H.M.Minister at Philadelphia).

As this included the right to cure their fish on the shores of Nova Scotia and the other provinces bordering on the fishing grounds, it became a source of continual friction between the fishermen of both countries.

The Nova Scotians accused the American fishermen of abusing the liberal privileges thus granted in the Treaty. They declared that the fishing grounds, as interpreted by the Americans, meant the very creeks and harbours of the province. Complaints on the subject were forwarded to Wentworth from various sections of the province shortly after he took office. One in particular,stated "that from forty to fifty American fishing vessels are employed in the harbours and on the shores, who not only refuse to obey the laws for regulating the Fisheries and our Custom House regulations.....but also interupt our settlers in their fishery, and by improperly throwing offal overboard, which is not allowed to our own vessels, they destroy the Fishery."[1.]

While these and other irregularities created ill feeling between the American and the Nova Scotian fishermen

1. P.A.N.S. 50; Wentworth to Dundas, June 20,1793.

the practice of smuggling which grew up under cover of the fisheries was the most difficult to check. It was claimed that under the pretense of coming into the harbours for bait, or for passing the Sabbath Day when they "religiously omit fishing"[1] the Americans carried on an illegal traffic with local inhabitants. Fish and peltry were exchanged for rum, molasses, soap, candles and many varieties of East India goods. Through the medium of this trade large quantities of the best fish caught by the Nova Scotians went to New England where it was re-shipped to Southern Europe, thus fostering the American carrying trade to those countries. Until the outbreak of war however, American competition in the fisheries was not seriously felt. This was owing to the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and the post war depression in the American Fisheries. Since 1783 trade between the United States and the British colonies in North America and the West Indies had been confined to British shipping.[2] Under the regulations then drawn up and renewed every year by an Act of Parliament, American imports into the Islands were restricted to grain, lumber and live stock. The import of

1. P.A.N.S. 287,No.42;Letter to the Representatives of the County of Annapolis, Mar.6,1797.

2. Act 23 Geo.III. c.39; Act 28 Geo.III. c.6.

American fish and meat was altogether forbidden in order to protect the Irish meat industry and the fisheries of Newfoundland and British North America.

While Nova Scotia had thus been assured of a market for her fish in the British West Indies, she also enjoyed a share in the shuttle trade between the States and the Islands. During this period the American merchant marine was inthe process of being rebuilt. The capture of their vessels during the Revolutionary War and the exodus of large numbers of Loyalist fishermen had so disorganised their fishery, that in 1791 the American government subsidised the industry.[1.] During the years 1783-1793 American activities in the fisheries were mainly directed towards the expansion of their markets in Southern Europe and the foreign islands in the West Indies.

With the outbreak of war between France and England it was inevitable that there should be a transfer of freight from British to American bottoms in the trade between the West Indies and the North American continent. Faced with capture by French privateers, which increased freight and insurance rates, Nova Scotians could not compete with the Americans, who

1. Gerald S.Graham, The Nantuckot Whale Fishery,New England Quarterly, June 1935;

   C.O.217:79,447-448,Memo of Nova Scotian Merchants to Hobart, May 16,1804.

enjoyed the protection of a neutral flag. Moreover, in the first year of the war about 85,000 seamen were drafted into the British Navy.[1] For this and other causes incidental to the war, it became impossible for the British Merchant Marine to continue to handle the trade between the States and the Islands with any degree of certainty. By 1794 it appears that this trade had been so interupted by the war that in order to avert famine the home government authorised the Governors of the West Indies to open the ports to the Americans for short periods.[2] The proclamations issued by the Governors allowed the Americans to bring in all sorts of provisions, whereas before 1783 British ships could only import lumber and grain from the States.

This partial relaxation of the Navigation Acts dealt a severe blow to Nova Scotia's trade with the West Indies. As the backward state of her agriculture did not admit the exportation of grain, fish and lumber were the only commodities which the province could ship to the islands in any large quantities. Small supplies of beef, butter, potatoes and live stock were exported, but only as a supplement to the

1. Parliamentary Register Commons, 1794,Vol.37,p.198.

2. B.T.5:9,Minutes of January 20,1794. (The food shortage was partly due to the sudden influx of large numbers of French colonists from St.Domingo.).

general cargoes. Even the amount of fish shipped was insignificant compared to the demand in the West Indies for that article.[1] The main supply came from Newfoundland. In lumber the province could not compete with New Brunswick nor with the United States. She did send however, a fair quantity of pine boards, clapboards and shingles, but one of the principal drawbacks to her West Indian trade was her inability to supply oak staves, which the Planters needed for packing the rum and the sugar. These came from the United States, as did most of the bread, flour and rice consumed in the islands. About this time Great Britain began to restrict her export of corn to the West Indies, while it was also her naval policy to export her oak there.

The main objective of the Loyalist Party in 1783 had been the exclusion of the New Englanders from the carrying trade of the West Indies. By this measure it was expected that Nova Scotia and the other British American provinces would gradually supplant the United States as a source of food supplies for those colonies. Ten years later however, it was recognised that only fish could Nova Scotia compete

1. C.O.144:21,35.

with the Americans. There is some evidence to show that during the period 1783-1793, the Island markets had been so well supplied by British shipping that at times the Nova Scotians had to resort to foreign islands to find a market for their cargoes.[1] Moreover, the prices they obtained for their cod fish during these years never exceeded $5.00 per quintal, and sometimes fell short of half that sum. They maintained therefore, that the cheapness of this article "clearly proves the abundance of it in the West Indies" prior to the French Revolutionary Wars.[2]

With the admission of American fish into the Islands in 1794 the Nova Scotians were quick to appeal to the Home government against the relaxation of the trade laws in respect to this commodity. In July 1794 the Nova Scotia Assembly presented an address to Wentworth on the state of the commerce and fisheries of the province to be forwarded to His Majesty's Ministers.[3] The Nova Scotians were concerned not so much with the Proclamations, which only covered periods of emergency, but rather with the efforts then being made by the United States to obtain legal admittance into the West Indies. They

1. C.O.217:80;Miscellaneous,471:Committee of the Merchants of Halifax,N.S.to Camden,Halifax,Jan 30,1805.

2. C.O.217:80;Miscellaneous,471

3. P.A.N.S.Vol287,No.35,Address to Wentworth on the State of the Commerce and Fisheries of the New Province, July 10,1794.

took this occasion to express the hope that their interests in these colonies might not be overlooked in the Treaty(Jay's) then being arranged between the United States and England. By way of strengthening their argument they questioned the expediency of a policy which would make the Islands entirely dependent on the States for their supplies. There had been a recent instance of this during the late American Embargo(March-May,1794)which, in an effort to bring Britain to terms in the crisis then existing in Anglo-American relations, had been designed to shut off the food supply of the British West Indies. Through the initiative of Wentworth, five or six large cargoes of provisions together with a consignment of shingles were shipped to the Islands at this time. These went to Sir Charles Grey then conducting an expedition against the French at Martinique and Guadaloupe, and who was in great want owing to the interuption to the army contracts with American firms. As Wentworth was also under the necessity of provisioning 500 French prisoners brought to Halifax from the captured islands of St.Pierre and Miquelon, this was the immediate extent of local efforts towards supplying the service on any large scale. Later in this year when the provisions sent

out from England for the service were captured at sea, the Governor had to import supplies from the States in order that the fleet might proceed to sea.

While the arguments advanced by the Nova Scotians against American participation in the West Indian carrying trade carried great weight in peace time, they could not be upheld in a period of war. The question of the import of supplies into the West Indies was one of the greatest importance, because the Planters did not make anattempt to grow provisions themselves. Moreover, the United States was not only their natural source of supplies, but was also one of their best customers. On the other hand Nova Scotia supplied little and took in return the same proportion of rum, sugar and molasses.[1] This had been one of the principal arguments employed by the Planters in 1782 and 1784 when they had made a strong plea for free trade with the Americans. During the interim, 1783-1793, they had been unable to stop the home government from passing laws prohibiting American ships entry to their ports, but with the outbreak of the war the situation changed. During the next ten years their ports were almost

1. H.O.2:1,2; Shipping Lists,Nova Scotia,1792.

continuously open to the Americans. The enterprising spirit with which the Yankee traders engaged in this and every other branch of oceanic trade left but a small margins for the Nova Scotians, who continued to take their fish, lumber and surplus provisions to the tropical colonies.

The result was a marked decline in the export of fish to the West Indies and with it the Fisheries in general.[1] A legal traffic in this staple was carried on between the province and the States in exchange for provisions, but much of it was disposed of on the banks for East and West India goods. In this way, the Americans became the carriers of a large percentage of the fish caught by the Nova Scotians during this period. A trade in fish was also carried on with Southern Europe in exchange for salt, wine and fruit. As the home country did not permit a direct trade between the colony and the Mediterranean countries, the Nova Scotian merchants were also hindered in developing this branch of their commerce. On the eve of the American Revolution a Resolution had passed the House of Commons for removing this restriction, but with the outbreak of hostilities for some reason or other it was not carried

1. C.O. 217:79, Petition of Halifax Merchants to Hobart, March 22, 1804.

into law.[1] Throughout Wentworth's administration the province endeavoured to remove this restriction and in 1806 were at last successful.[2] Another additional handicap to the fishing industry was the emigration of local seamen to the States, where owing to the incredible increase in shipping, American merchants were offering high wages and good rations to secure seamen.[3] Furthermore, the bounties granted by the American government to their fisheries was another inducement for Nova Scotians to settle there, as was the advantage of carrying on their profession under a neutral flag.

As the prosperity of the province was based on the fishing industry and shipping, Wentworth made every effort to prevent the migration of the fishermen and to attract labour from abroad. In 1794 the evacuation of the French fishing islands of St.Pierre and Miquelon gave him an opportunity to secure about 250 families. Many of these people preferred to remain in Nova Scotia until the close of the war in hopes that the islands would be returned to France at the Peace Treaty. The scarcity of labour and the highly

1. C.O.217:77,247,Correspondence of Uniacke to Bernard,London Agent, July 1801.

2. 46 Geo.III,c.116; see also P.A.N.S.,54,p.116,Wentworth to Ransome and Moorland, Oct.4,1806.

3. C.O.217:66,89-92,Wentworth to King,April 18,1795.

skilled technique of the French fishermen made Wentworth most anxious to keep them in the province. Accordingly, he offered them free housing and provisions for one year with a grant of five to ten acres for each family, provided they took the oath of allegiance to the King. About 140 men, women and children were settled at Liverpool, Port Medway and Port Mouton, and thirty families at Shelburne.[1] One hundred and fifty families were also distributed throughout the various seaport towns.[2] This group had crossed over to Arichat, Cape Breton prior to the reduction of the islands, but the Governor of that colony had reported to the Home Government and to Lord Dorchester that they were spreading revolutionary doctrine among the Acadians settled there. Wentworth received orders to investigate the matter. Though he was always ready to view with suspicion any person in whom he detected the slightest tendency towards replublicanism, yet he appears on this occasion to have discovered that the trouble with the French in Cape Breton arose from a purely domestic problem. A strong disagreement between the Reverend Mr.Phelan, a Roman Catholic Missionary at Arichat,

1. P.A.N.S. 51,Wentworth to Brinley, June 24,1794.
2. P.A.N.S. 48,No.132,Wentworth to Portland,Dec.21,1794.

and the Reverend Monsieur Jemtille, a French Royalist priest lately appointed there, led to a division between the parishioners.[1] With the assistance of the superior missionary the matter was quietly settled. After taking the oath of allegiance they were transported to Nova Scotia and dispersed among the English settlements along the coast.

Most of these people were descendants of the Acadians who had been expelled in 1755. Wentworth showed them every kindness. In his letters to the Magistrates of the towns where they were settled he recommended that the local inhabitants should exercise Christian charity towards these poor people, who had been dispossessed of their country "for our safety and benefit."[2] Monsieur D'Anseville, the military commander at St.Pierre, was among those brought to Halifax, but being a Royalist he had no desire to return to France. Through the aid of Wentworth and His Royal Highness Prince Edward, he was granted a pension by the British Government to be paid during his sojourn in the province.[3] There were many other instances of British generosity towards prisoners brought to Halifax at this time. During these

1. P.A.N.S. 51,Wentworth to Dorchester,June 19,1794.
2. Ibid. p.100-102,Wentworth to Thomas,May 22,1794.
3. P.A.N.S. 60,Hobart to Wentworth,Oct.5,1802.

years many noted French emigrees passed through the province, the most distinguished being the Duke of Orleans and his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Count Beaujolie. In 1792 Dundas had consulted with the Governor concerning the establishment of 2000 emigrees, but the outbreak of war prevented the scheme from materialising.[1] Occasionally French emigrants did make their way to Nova Scotia and in 1796 forty of them on their way to New York were induced by Wentworth to remain at Halifax. In reporting to the Home Government on the matter, Wentworth states that there was a large number of Irishmen on this boat, whom he was also anxious to settle in the province. To the Irish fishermen, who came in great numbers to the Banks of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia offered good wages, steady employment and an opportunity to ship on board a privateer, which then engaged the interests of most seafaring men lured by the love of adventure and the wealth of the Spanish Main. It is difficult to state the exact numbers of Irish settlers in the province at this time, as there was a tendency among them to trek off to the States a few years after their arrival. In 1807 however, Wentworth

1. P.A.N.S. 33, Dundas to Wentworth, April 29,1793.

informed Castlereagh that Emmett, "the noted Irish innovator" was then in New York planning to invade Nova Scotia with 7000 men, and that he depended on the aid of his fellow countrymen in the province to carry through the project.[1.] This was just another of the many false rumours circulated through the country during this period, but it illuminating as to the number of Irish. From this statement it is evident that they represented a goodly portion of the total population.

By encouraging the provincial merchants to invest in the privateering industry, Wentworth sought to check the migration of labour to the United States. While privateering provided employment for the local seamen and offered them a much higher return in wages than they could possibly get in the States, it also led to a marked increase in commercial activity throughout the entire province. Most of the important seaport towns engaged in the business, but at Halifax and Liverpool it was conducted on a very large scale. As the war advanced, Liverpool on the south east coast of Nova Scotia became one of the busiest ports in the province. Its

1. P.A.N.S. 54,p.187, Wentworth to Castlereagh,Aug.18,1807.

commerce and shipbuilding showed marked expansion, and the many rich prizes brought home by its native sons gave to it a degree of prosperity that could not be excelled in any other part of the province, except at Halifax. The inhabitants were for the most part of American extraction and engaged principally in the fish and lumber trade to the West Indies and Spain. In the early years of the war Liverpool had suffered considerably through the capture of most of its fishing and trading vessels by French privateers. The seamen thrown out of employment began to emigrate to the States. To offset this Wentworth gave every encouragement to the merchants concerned in privateering.[1] Through his influence with the Admiral on the Halifax Station it was agreed that men so engaged should be free of impress, while His Royal Highness Prince Edward, consented to arm and equip the privateers from the King's Military Stores.[2]

Most of the armed brigs that sailed from Liverpool carried on an average of 15 guns with a crew ranging from forty to a hundred men. From 1798-1800 they claimed to have captured enemy property to the value of £120,000.[3] The

1. Ad.1,495,p.311,Parker to Nepean,Nov.4,1800.
2. Ibid. Memo of Jos.Freeman to Sir W.Parker,Oct,27,1800.
3. Ibid.

enterprising spirit with which they carried on these expeditions is revealed in the log book of the "Charles Mary Wentworth", a fast sailing privateer built at Liverpool and named in honour of the Government's only son. The ship had an interesting career. On its first voyage it brought back four valuable Spanish prizes. Wentworth forwarded the Journal of this voyage to the Duke of Portland, the pages of which reveal the daring and courage of the Nova Scotians in cutting out Spanish ships and destroying forts in small coastal towns along the Spanish Main. The "Charles Mary" cruised well and made the trip from Liverpool to Porto Rico in seventeen days, which was considered a record passage at the time.[1] Thus privateering not only stimulated shipbuilding, but by forcing the shipwrights to design for speed it also led the way in the evolution of the fast sailing clipper, which brought renown to the shipwrights of Nova Scotia during the first half of the 19th century.

Wentworth held shares in a number of the privateers and on one occasion received as much as £2000 prize money,[2] but the man who seems to have dominated the industry was Colonel

1. C.O.217:70,p.192, Log Book of the Private Ship of War, "Charles Mary Wentworth."

2. P.A.N.S. 54,Wentworth to Bernard, July 27,1805.

Simeon Perkins, Chief Magistrate of Liverpool. Most of the influential merchants invested in the business. Some of them were already members of the Assembly or the Council, while others became very influential in the province through the great wealth they amassed during this period. It is claimed that Samuel Cunard, founder of the famous Cunard Line, made his first venture into the commercial world with profits received from investments in this industry.[1.]

At Halifax the prizes brought in by His Majest's Ships of War tended to overshadow in value and number those captured by the local privateers. The first two prizes sold for about £15,000, while a third ship richly laden with merchandise enroute to Marseilles brought £25,000. These are two typical cases of the lucrative French and Spanish West Indian merchantmen that were brought into the port of Halifax. Others were mere bagatelles from £150 to £1,000 but on the average the prize money than compensated the captors for the dangers encountered.[2.] With the influx of prize money the Liverpool merchants increased their investments in the local shore fishery and also in the salmon fishery off the Labrador coast

1.

P.A.N.S. Admiralty Papers, Miscellaneous, Containing Abstracts of Sales made of Property by order of the Court of Vice Admiralty at Halifax, 1775-1808.

with a view to widening their markets in the West Indies. It was not long before the traders followed in the path of the privateersmen and sought markets in the free ports then being opened in the Caribbean.

The problem of finding markets for the prize goods condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax brought to the fore the question of intercolonial commerce, and led to petitions for the removal of obsolete trade regulations then hampering commercial intercourse between the British North American colonies. As Nova Scotia could not absorb the large quantities of luxury articles condemned, such as wines, French brandies and silks nor even commodities in general use as rum, sugar and coffee, the merchants endeavoured to sell their surplus stock in Quebec, where there was a large demand for French goods and also rum for the fur trade. As a result of a decision given by the Law Officers of the Crown in 1783 they found the market there closed against them.[1.] This decision of 1783 relates to prize brandy taken towards the close of the American Revolution, but in 1790 another

1. W.O. 1:17,p.173,Blowers to Murray,Aug.17,1794. This states that prize brandy could not be lawfully imported into Quebec from Halifax or any other place in America,"and that brandy can only be imported there from Great Britain directly under the regulation of the 15th Car 2nd Ch.7".

another regulation was established which if allowed to remain in force would have brought inter-colonial trade to a standstill. In that year a ship from the port of London took a cargo to Quebec enroute to the West Indies. On its arrival at Jamaica the ship was seized because it had on board a case of hats and some crates of earthenware. The hats, forbidden by law to be transported from one colony to another, were part of the original freight from London, but the earthenware was taken on at Quebec though originally imported direct from Liverpool, England. The case was referred to the Commissioners of the Customs in London who were of the opinion

"that no European article, even the produce of England, shipped from the Port of London can be carried from one colony to another, but must, according to the provisions of Act 15 Car.2nd, be sent direct from Great Britain only to the colony for which intended, and from no other place or places whatsoever."[1.]

As in the prize brandy case of 1783, this decision was based on a strict interpretation of the early Navigation Act,15th Car.2nd Ch.7, but which under the Old Empire had not been

1. B.T.5:10,p.242,Minutes of Aug.3,1796,Enclosure in Lord Dorchester's letter to Portland,May 28,1796.

strictly enforced since the passing of the Acts 7th and 8th Wm.3rd,Ch.22.[1] According to these Acts, trade within the colonies was confined to British registered ships, and the practice grew up of exporting freely goods imported from Great Britain into one colony, along with the produce of it to any other colony, as long as they were carried in British ships. The restraining clause of the 15th Car 2nd Ch.7 was disregarded and considered as relating only to trade between foreign countries and the Plantations.[2]

The revival of an Act which had been a dead letter for nearly a century naturally caused consternation among the mercantile group at Halifax more so than at Quebec, as the former were anxious to make Halifax an entrepôt in the trade between Great Britain, British North America and the West Indies. The position of Nova Scotia on the Atlantic seaboard together with the advantages of a milder climate allowed her to build up a promising shuttle trade with the Islands, which was denied Quebec. Aside from the restriction placed on inter-colonial trade by the above decision, the Quebec Revenue Act imposed an additional duty of three pence per gallon on rum

1. W.O.1:17,p.175,Blowers to Murray, Aug.17,1794.
2. Ibid.

imported into Quebec other than direct from the West Indies or Great Britain. This tax did much to prevent Nova Scotia from becoming a distributing centre, whereby West Indian rum and British manufactures would be exchanged for Canadian flour and lumber. In their protest against these trade regulations the merchants at Halifax were not alone. With the Quebec market closed to them they shipped the prize goods to the United States, where they did not fetch very much, though eventually the Americans sold them to Quebec and Upper Canada at enormous prices. The profits of the trade were thus reaped by the Americans. As this state of affairs naturally operated against the captors, the Admiral on the Halifax Station placed the matter before Dundas.[1.]

This was followed shortly after by a long memorial from the Nova Scotian Merchants giving in detail a description of British North American trade, emphasis being placed on the advantages which resulted to the Islands of Cape Breton, Prince Edward and the settlements along the St.Lawrence and the Bay of Chaleurs from their trade with Halifax.[2.] Owing to its proximity to these settlements and the fact that it was open

1. W.O. 1:17.

2. C.O.217:67,p.63-68:Memo of the Merchants of Nova Scotia to Portland, Dec.26,1795.

to navigation the year round, Halifax was the natural source of supplies for these northern colonies. On the other hand, Quebec was closed to traffic for six months out of the year. Furthermore, a flourishing barter trade was carried on between the settlers of the Chaleurs country and the traders from Nova Scotia. Fish suitable for the West Indies, sealskins and furs were exchanged for flour, West India produce and British manufactures. The Quebec market did not take fish of an inferior quality. They had little trade with the West Indies, their principal markets being Spain, Portugal and Italy. If the decision of 1790 continued to be enforced, it meant that the fisherfolk of the Lower St.Lawrence would have no vent for their cheap fish. Accordingly, they joined the Nova Scotian traders in the protest against this regulation and petitioned Lord Dorchester for relief.[1.]

With reference to prize goods, the Nova Scotians also stressed the fact that it was more convenient for His Majesty's Ships to send their prizes to Halifax. The memorial closed by expressing the wish that

"a more rigid construction of the restraints on the mercantile

1. B.T. 5:10,242,Minutes of Aug.3,1796,Dorchester to Portland,May 28,1796,Enclosing Memor of Gaspe settlers, Oct.1,1795.

intercourse between His Majesty's remaining colonies will not be allowed to prevail than was wont to be enforsed in the American States, while they composed a part of the Empire."[1.]

They respectfully prayed therefore, that some Parliamentary or other relief would be afforded them. The Memorial was accompanied by an introductory letter from Governor Wentworth, who on this as on every other occasion, had warm praise for the enterprising spirit of the Nova Scotians, and who never failed to emphasise their loyalty to the King during the American Revolution. For this reason Wentworth considered that it would be politic to remove the restrictions He also pointed out the plitical benefits accruing from an unrestricted trade between the Nova Scotians and the Canadians.[2.]

The cumulative effect of these petitions soon produced results. In referring the matter to the Commissioners of the Customs the Committee for Trade asked them to consider the matter favourably, but if they could not it was suggested that an application should be made to Parliament for altering the law in question.[3.] The petitions were hurried through the

1. C.O.217:67,p.63-69,Memo of N.S.Merchants to Portland, Dec.26,1795.
2. Minutes of Mar.21,1796. B.T. 1:13,Wentworth to Portland, Dec.26,1795.
3. B.T. 5:10,p.242,Minutes of Aug.3,1796.

office of the Secretary of State and the Privy Council Committee, but it took the Customs Board one year in which to come to a decision. They then decided to remove the obstruction rather than have Parliamentary action on the matter. Orders were sent out to the Customs Officers at Halifax and Quebec to lift the ban on inter-colonial commerce, according to the ruling of 1790, while prize goods were placed on the same status as goods legally imported from Great Britain.[1] The plea for a reduction in the duties on West India produce imported into Quebec via Halifax was disregarded. They remained in force until 1811.

Though the injurious effect of these restrictive measures was only temporary, yet it tended to give the colonists a pessimistic outlook as to the future economic expansion of the province, and to contract the freedom and advantages enjoyed by American traders with the impediments that everywhere beset the commerce of British North America. Moreover, it shows how easily the course of colonial trade could be disturbed by the decisions of pedantic officials, who being more concerned with the strict interpretation of the law in question, overlooked

1. B.T. 5:10,p.399,Minutes of July 6,1797,"Report of the Commissioners of the Customs," July4,1792.

the broader aspects of colonial policy. That such errors in judgment were allowed to pass unnoticed was mainly due to the abolition of the old Board of Trade in 1782, and to the independence of the Customs Board. It is a striking example of the manner in which colonial business was then handled. The mistakes, delays and actual grievances which so often occurred were the inevitable result of the division of responsibility in colonial administration.

The Privateering Industry was thus an important factor in the early economic development of Nova Scotia. Through it intercolonial trade was freed from the restrictions then hampering it, shipbuilding was encouraged, the fishermen employed in local enterprises and the small mercantile firms of the province provided with a much needed captial. It gave an impetus to commercial expansion and laid the basis for a flourishing carrying trade, which at the close of Wentworth's administration forged ahead under the stimulus of the American Embargo of 1807. In these petitions the aggressive commercialism of the Nova Scotians is clearly discernible. Their demands for the exclusion of the Americans

from the West Indies went unheard at this time, but they did succeed in opening up a better market for their prize goods in Canada. The trade that developed between Halifax and the settlements along the Lower St.Lawrence during those years did much to foster a common interest in the economic expansion of British North America, and to strengthen the political ties between them.

In contrast totthe decline of the fisheries, the gypsum and timber trade showed marked expansion during this period. From Windsor, situated on the Avon River and on the outskirts of the beautiful and fertile land of Evangeline, a flourishing trade in plaster of paris and grindstone was carried on with the United States. The Americans found the plaster very beneficial as manure for the dry lands of the South. By 1802 100 vessels were engaged in the traffic, 60 of these being registered in Nova Scotia, the remainder in New Brunswick.[1] The local vessels mostly came from Annapolis, Yarmouth, Shelburne, and Liverpool, and brought with them West India produce, British manufactures and some cash, which they exchanged at Windsor for "Plaster and Stones". The smaller

1. C.O.217:73,p.61,Wentworth to Hobart,May 10,1803,"Report on Plaster Trade".

vessels usually went to Pasamaquoddy(Maine),while the larger ones went to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, where occasionally they were chartered for foreign voyages. On the return trip they brought back from the States corn, flour, West India goods, lumber(probably oak staves) and other articles, which they took to their own ports.[1] At first the balance of trade had been in favour of the Americans, but the demand in the States for these two articles became so widespread that by 1802 the exports exceeded the imports by £2000. In that year about 24,000 tons of plaster to the value of £8000 were exported, while only £6000 of American goods was taken in return.[2]

In the timber industry there was likewise marked expansion. Prior to the American Revolution very little lumber had been exported, but with the coming of the Loyalists, attempts were made to develop the industry. At first large quantities had to be imported from the States for their immediate use; but as their settlements developed and saw mills were erected the trade showed signs of improvement. The provincial government fostered the industry by granting

1. C.O.217:78,p.61,Wentworth to Hobart,May 10,1803,"Report on Plaster Trade".

2. Ibid.

bounties in 1787 and 1789 for the erection of mills and the development of shipbuilding. At Digby, on the Bay of Fundy, the Loyalists set up timber mills which by 1794 were able to furnish some large consignments for the British expeditionary force in the West Indies, while scattered up and down the coast could be found some small lumbering settlements. It was at Pictou(Northumberland Strait) that the growth of the industry was most marked. Owing to the wealth of timber to be found in this district and the enterprising spirit of the Scottish settlers who came there, a promising trade was established between Pictour and Greenock, Scotland. By 1792 it had been extended to Liverpool, England, and Cork. The impetus given to the trade by the French Revolutionary Wars was responsible for the great expansion in the timber industry of Pictou. During these wars, as in all European conflicts of the 18th century, England's supply of timber from the Baltic countries was uncertain, and at times almost entirely interupted. In order to meet the ever increasing demands of industrialism the timber merchants of Great Britain were obliged to turn

to the British American colonies for ships and timber.

The demand for timber stimulated shipbuilding at Pictou and it frequently happened that on arrival in Britain the ship would be sold along with the cargoe. Having found a vent for this staple in the British Isles, the Nova Scotians were anxious to widen their markets there, but the Baltic Timber Trade was able to maintain its monopoly despite the continental system. It was here that Wentworth's technical knowledge as Surveyor General of the Woods proved to be of advantage to the colonists. After consulting with him, Richard John Uniacke, the Speaker of House, wrote to the provincial agent in London seriously urging him to place the matter before His Majesty's Ministers.[1] On Wentworth's advice the Nova Scotians petitioned for a revival of the bounty formerly granted on timber imported from British North America prior to the American Revolution. For the next few years this was one of the main objectives of provincial policy, and in 1806 they succeeded in having an Act passed whereby colonial lumber was exempt from the duties then levied on it in Great Britain.[2]

1. C.O. 217:77,p.515-518,Extract from Speaker Uniacke's Letter to Scrope Bernard,July20,1800.

2. P.A.N.S. 54,p.116,Wentworth to Ransome and Moorland, October 4,1806.

While the prosperity of Pictou was based primarily on the timber industry, its proximity to the fishing grounds of Canso and the fertility of its soil enabled it to develop a promising provision trade with the West Indies, Halifax and Newfoundland. In 1802 Wentworth recommended that a Customs House be established in the district to take care of the increasing commerce that passed through the Straits of Canso to the Gulf of St.Lawrence. Writing to the Duke of Clarence at this time relative to the Customs House, he remarked

"Your Highness recollectin the uninhabited state of that coast may be perhaps surprised to find it now recommended to be a Customs House District, but the rapid and increasing population, culture and commerce not only justifies, but requires it. There are not less than 5000 inhabitants now settled and 1000 more have taken passage from Scotland..... Many large vessels(up to 450 tons) have been built there within the last three years.....The present year at least fifty sail of vessels will be laden for foreign voyages from that district, from 1000 to 100 tons each, principally laden with timber and lumber for Great Britain."[1.]

1. P.A.N.S. 53,p.426-29,Wentworth to Duke of Clarence, May 26th,1803.

Shipbuilding was also carried on at Lunenburg, Liverpool and Yarmouth. Owing to the rapid development of the plaster industry and the extension of inter-colonial trade there had been an increasing demand for coastal vessels from forty to one hundred tons. The total number of vessels built in the year 1800 was 37 with a tonnage of 3807. So rapidly did Nova Scotian shipping increase under Wentworth's administration that from a total of 300 vessels of 15,000 tons in 1792 the number had increased to 400 of 23,000 tons in 1800, rising to 500 vessels of 36,000 tons in 1805.[1] About two-thirds of this shipping was employed in the coastal traffic, particularly the provision and plaster trade with the United States. By order of the new commercial regulations established since 1783, trade between Nova Scotia and the States was restricted to British registered ships, and American produce was excluded except in times of emergency.[2] As Nova Scotia did not grow enough wheat for her own consumption, the Governor was authorised to issue a proclamation permitting the importation of flour, bread and other enumerated articles whenever a state of emergency occurred. From the evidence

1. T.64,Vol.287,p.3,4,15.
   N.S.Accts.Papers,VII,1806,V23,No.5.

2. Act.23,Geo.III,3 C.30; 28 Geo.III,C.6.

at hand it appears that these proclamations were renewed as soon as they expired. Whether this was necessary to prevent a food shortage it is difficult to state. At times it arose from the necessity of provisioning the naval and military units stationed in the province. For t o reasons the Assembly opposed these Proclamations. First, because many articles were imported which the province produced in abundance. This not only operated unfavourably against the local farmer, but also tended to confirm the opinion entertained abroad that Agriculture would never flourish in Nova Scotia. The continuance of the Proclamations, they asserted, would discourage immigration, as agricultural settlers would hardly come to a country "which, by the most public and solemn Acts of its Government is pronounced to be in distress so for almost all the necessaries of life."[1] They asked that the articles imported should be restricted to grain, peace, rice and lumber, "until it shall be found by a fair experiment, whether this country is able to supply itself with the other articles heretofore permitted to be brought into this country from the United States."[2] By informing the House that

1. C.O.217:67,p.51, Journal of the Assembly, April 8,1795.
2. Ibid.

he had acted on the advice of the Council, Wentworth defended his action. However, he agreed to comply with the request of the House, if the Council consented to limit the importations.[1] Tonge, the leader of the opposition, took the attitude that Wentworth had evaded the question, and proposed a second address reminding Wentworth that by the Act of 1788 he was obliged to have the Council's consent to import, but not to limit the articles in question. Tonge's motion with its implied censure of Wnetworth failed to carry, being defeated by a majority vote of eleven.[2] Two years later the subject came again to the fore in connection with smuggling.

The other objection levelled against the Proclamations was that under cover of the trade an illicit traffic in East India and other foreign goods was carried on to the detriment of the revenue and the fair trader. In 1797 the provincial merchants petitioned the Assembly to remedy the evil, claiming that the western counties were almost entirely supplied with those articles by the Americans.[3] It was stated that the

1. C.O.217:67,p.52,Journal of the Assembly,April 8,1795.

2. C.O.217:67,p.55,Assembly Journal N.S.,April 13,1795.

3. C.O.217:73,p.95,Assembly Journal N.S.,Petition of L.Hartshorne and Co.....and the Principal Merchants of Halifax. July 6, 1797.

goods were smuggled into the country through the medium of the fishery and the plaster trade. In an effort to assist the commercial interests, the Assembly prepared a bill the main features of which claimed to restrict the trade between the province and the United States to vessels over sixty tons, to increase the number of deputy customs officers, and to seize foreign vessels found hovering within the three mile limit with dutiable articles on board.[1] Smuggling appears to have been carried on mostly by the smaller vessels, who went to Passamaquoddy a few miles beyond the New Brunswick border, where the plaster was loaded into American boats at sea. By restricting the trade to larger vessels the plaster would be taken direct to the leading ports of the States. This would result in an increase in freight and more regularity in the trade. Owing to the indented nature of the coastline, and with only two customs establishments in the province, it was impossible to strictly enforce the trade laws beyond the precincts of these ports. Since 1783 the Assembly had endeavoured to secure additional establishments to relieve the traders in the remote parts of the country from making a

1. C.O.217:73,p.91-94,Assembly Journal N.S.,July 6,1797.

long roundabout voyage for the purpose of entering and clearing either at Halifax or Shelburne. Their efforts met with little success. In a detailed report on the subject in 1797 it was stated that there was

"only one preventive officer of the Customs on the whole extent of the coast from Annapolis Gut(Bay of Fundy)round the Bason of Minas, Colchester Bay and Cape Chignecto up to the division line of the province."[1.]

This officer lived up one of the rivers too remote to have any knowledge of or control over the trade carried on in these districts.

If the smuggling carried on in the Plaster trade presented a serious problem to the provincial authorities, that which went on under cover of the fisheries was almost impossible to check. By 1804 about 700 American fishing vessels passed through the Straits of Canso on their way to the fishing grounds of Bay Chaleurs.[2.] In addition there was a smaller fleet which fished offthe coast of Nova Scotia. This group not only broke the customs regulations, but annoyed the settlers by using nets. The Loyalist settlement at Digby, which had built up a flourishing herring industry, were continually complaining

1. C.O.217:69,p.301,Assembly Journal N.S., June 22,1798.

against the Americans trespassing in this district. They claimed that about fifty American vessels would take up a position for seven miles along the shore, and by spreading nets from one boat to another prevent the herring from passing into the weirs set for them by the local fishermen.[1] During this period the rivalry of the Americans in the fisheries and in the West Indian trade did much to alienate the Nova Scotians from their former countrymen.

The bill proposed by the Assembly to prevent illicit traffic in East India goods failed to pass the Council. Their attitude on this occasion was that of a conservative house trying to check an aggressive Assembly from exceeding its authority relative to the regulations of provincial trade. Asice from the fact that it was an unfair discrimination against the small trader, the Council objected to the bill because, if enacted, "it might involve His Majesty's in disputes with the United States", and that it assumed a right which the colony did not possess, namely, the right to regulate the foreign trade of the province.[2] Wentworth was also opposed to the bill. He was of the opinion that too much

1. C.O.217:70,p.83-85,Petition of Inhabitants of Annapolis County to Wentworth, June 5,1801.

2. C.O.217:73,p.91, Assembly Journal N.S. June 30,1797.

legislation would be detrimental to commercial enterprise, and that the amount of smuggling carried on under cover of the American trade was not sufficient to warrant the restrictio proposed by the Assembly.[1] As proof that the merchants were not suffering to the extent they claimed, he referred to the marked increase in British imports, which in 1797 amounted to £150,000 as contrasted with £100,000 for 1794.[2] Since Nova Scotia could not consume such a large amount as this there remained a surplus for export, some of which presumably went to the United States through indirect channels. He preferred therefore, the known benefits resulting from "this quiet, well directed current of commercial industry" rather than the uncertainty which might follow, if the trade should be disturbed by restrictive measures.[3]

While defending the Customs Officers against charges of neglect, he supported the Assembly in their plea for additional customs houses. He had already urged the Home Government to establish a customs house at Pictou and in 1803 he suggested that one be established at Passmaquoddy which would secure "not only the revenue, but much more important interests of His

1. P.A.N.S.,52,p.267-76,Wentworth to Portland,Nov,20,1798.

2. Ibid.: C.O.217:64,p.504,"Memorandum on Defense of Halifax"; T.64:287, (By 1800 British imports had risen to £180,000, while the exports had increased to £33,000).

3. Ibid.,

Majesty in that country, where much ability, experience and public confidence on both sides of the territorial line may be of the best usefulness to the public."[1] On his advice in 1793 Secretary Dundas had approved the purchasing of an armed brig for the protection of the trade and the fisheries from French privateers, then operating from American ports. During the intervening years the brig had been engaged principally in transporting troops and carrying mail and dispatches to the West Indies, Quebec and the United States. With the exception of annual visits to the fishing grounds to maintain order among the restless elements that flocked there, and to convoy the fishing fleet at the end of the season, it had little time to attend to the smugglers, who would have been left undisturbed to peddle their teas and calicoes had it not been for the energetic and anti-American Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries, George Leonard.

Since his appointment in 1786 Leonard had striven to suppress smuggling, but by 1797 he appears to have found his establishment inadequate for the purpose. In his usual forceful fashion he went to London and placed the matter

1. P.A.N.S.,53,P.423-425,Wentworth to Hobart, May 18,1803; Ibid.,50, Wentworth to Dundas, Oct 25,1792.

before His Majesty's Ministers taking with him extracts from the Journal of the Nova Scotia Assembly to strengthen his statements on illicit trade, and a recommendation from Wentworth that his jurisdiction be extended.[1] As a means to more effectively enforce the trade laws, Leonard suggested that the Naval Officers within his District should be placed under his direction remarking "it is generally allowed they are of no other use", while he also advised that deputations should be granted to his deputies as a supplement to the customs officers, who "have been incompetent and insufficient."[2] Though Leonard's proposals met with encouragement from the Secretary of State they failed to meet the approval of the Board of Customs Commissioners, who appear to have regarded them as an intrusion into the affairs of their department. At first, they declined to issue the deputations, being of the opinion that the established customs officers were adequate for the needs of the district, while the suggestion relative to the naval officers appears to have been ignored.[3] Leonard succeeded however, in having his jurisdiction extended and in securing a recommendation from the Secretary of State to the various provincial

1. C.O.217:68,No.42,Wentworth to Portland,Apr,22,1797. Jurisdiction to extend from Gaspée Head in the Gulf of St.Lawrence to Passamaquoddy....including all the coasts of Nova Scotia,New Brunswick,St. John's Island and Cape Breton.

2. C.O.217:69,Leonard to King,June 22,1798; C.O.217:69,Leonard to Portland, June 23,1798.

3. C.O.218:27,King to Leonard, July 4,1798. Whitehall.

governments within his district, asking them to assist him by establishing a table of fees for the office, and to furnish him with vessels suitable for the discharge of his duties. Though the Nova Scotia Assembly was anxious to render him assistance, it feared to lay any additional tax on local commerce, burdened as it already was by the number of fees exacted by the various officials concerned in the supervision of trade.[1] As the other provincial governments were of the same opinion the task was taken over by the home government in 1800, when an annual grant of £600 was allotted for the maintenance of a vessel and deputies.[2]

Owing to the conflict of opinion both in the colony and the home country, as to the preventive measures to be employed against the smuggler, there could not be any appreciable decline in illicit trade. In a detailed report in 1800 Leonard claimed to have checked smuggling by American fishermen to some extent, but declared that, that which was carried on under cover of the provision and plaster trade continued to flourish owing to the inadequate supervision provided by the provincial customs establishments. The Customs Board later agreed in 1801 to

1. C.O.217:73,p.134,143, Journal of the House, 1798.
2. C.O.217:74,p.513, Leonard to King, Nov.10,1798.

grant commissions to Leonard's deputies, "empowering them to seize prohibited and uncustomed goods", but they were not willing to recommend "that either himself or his deputies should be authorised to enter and clear vessels, as proposed by him."[1] They were also careful to point out "that neither Mr.Leonard nor his deputies should in the line of their duty as Revenue officers, consider themselves in any respect independent of the Collector and the Controller, or have any power or control over the Inferior Officers of the Customs, but on the contrary, that they should strictly adhere to the Instructions given to the Naval Officer."[2]

Though the above report received the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury, Leonard was still compnaining in 1804 that he had not received the deputations. For some years after he continued to register his complaints against the customs officers, and to report the steady growth of illicit trade at Moose Island, Passmaquoddy, which had also become a rendezvous for deserters from the British Army and Navy on this station.[3]

Analysis of the correspondence relative to this complex matter reveals a somewhat dogmatic attitude on the part of the

1. C.O.217:75,p.227-229,Addington to Sullivan,Oct.1,1801, Treasury Chambers.

2. C.O.217:79,p.497,Leonard to Cooke, Nov.30,1804.
C.O.217:81,p.751,Leonard to Vice-Admiral Berkeley,Aug.24,18
C.O.217:81,p.737,Admiral Berkeley to W.Marsden,Aug.14,1807.

Customs Board to any intererence or change in the department under their care, while the evidence of neglect and delay in granting the deputations is strikingly similar to that displayed towards the question of inter-colonial trade restrictions previously referred to. Whatever relief was granted to the provincial governments against American smuggling came from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was here that the good offices of Wentworth as intermediary were of assistance, for though he was opposed to the provincial government meddling in imperial matters, yet he was ready to co-operate by sponsoring measures that came within the jurisdiction of colonial authority. With the growth of commerce and the ever widening competition of the Americans, the Nova Scotian merchants, through the Assembly, were impatient to free provincia trade from every restriction then hampering its expansion.
On the other hand, the attitude of the Council on this occasion was that of uncompromising conservatism. In Wentworth the merchants had an able coadjutor, but one who, however much he might approve some reorganisation in the customs, felt himself bound by constitutional and political principles to restrain

colonial enthusiasm for reform within definite limits. As His Majesty's Government was just then negotiating for a treaty with the United States, it was good policy to prevent any friction or misunderstanding between the colonies and that country, such as might have occurred had the illicit trade bill passed into law.[1] It required the utmost tact on the part of Liston, His Majesty's Minister at Philadelphia, to keep Leonard from placing restrictions on American fishing vessels in contravention of the rights they enjoyed by virtue of the Peace Treaty of 1783.[2] During the American Revolution Leonard had played an important role in planning attacks on rebel shipping and coastal towns, and with the defeat of the King's Forces had left his native land an embittered man, dejected at the loss of a large property and the prospect of exile in the wilderness of the north. On the other hand, Wentworth never displayed personal animosity towards his former brethren. No matter how much he might detest their political principles, he inveriably adopted a statesmanlike attitude on such occasions, choosing to work for conciliation rather than further estrangement. At the close of his

1. F.O.5:22,Liston to Grenville, Nov.7,1798,Kingston,N.J.

2. C.O.217:69,p.296,Leonard to Temple,Mar.25,1798.
   C.O.217:69,p.297,Liston to Temple,May 22,1795.
   C.O.217:69,p.298,Leonard to Liston,May 28,1798.

administration a crisis occurred in Anglo-American relations, which was followed by a sudden change in commercial policy. In 1808, by an act of parliament, American provisions in American ships were admitted to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for re-export to the West Indies, in order to give more opportunity for the evasion of Jefferson's embargo. Until the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 an unrestricted trade which existed between the United States and these provinces greatly increased the importance of Halifax as a distributing centre in the trade between Great Britain and the United States and between the United States and the West Indies.

Though Wentworth's primary concern during the early years of his administration was defense and other problems incidental to the war, yet he did not fail to pay particular attention to inland communication. Living as he did in an era when men everywhere were seeking means to improve transportation, it was natural that he should be attracted by the feasability of canals, which then occupied the public attention in the neighbouring States. In writing to a former colonial officer, Colonel Small, in the spring of 1794, he reveals his

ambition in this respect when he informs him

"Your territory at Kennetcook will be much improved by my plan of rendering the Shubenacadie navigable, and a communication thence to Dartmouth by a chain of lakes. This great work I hope to get complete if we are not interupted by hostilities."[1.]

In 1797 the Assembly voted £250 for a survey of the country from the Bason of Minas to Halifax Harbour, and in the following year a patent was granted to appointing nine of the leading Halifax merchants as Directors of the Shubenacadie Canal. By opening up this waterway the produce of the fertile wetern districts would be transported cheaply and safely to Halifax to be exported to the West.Indies, while the merchandise of Great Britain would reach the farmer at a much lower price than formerly, thus making smuggling unprofitable. As this canal would bring increased prosperity to Halifax and the province in general, Wentworth was most anxious for its success, but unfortunately the time was not ripe for such an ambitious scheme, and it was not until 1827 that it was actually begun, and then, owing to the shortage of funds was doomed to failure.

1. P.A.N.S.,51,p.115-118,Wentworth to Colonel Small,May27,1794.

With the increase of revenue large grants were available for the construction of roads and bridges and other public works. By 1800 the provincial treasury had a credit balance of approximately £34,000 in contrast to a debt of an almost equal amount in 1792, a striking evidence of the increased prosperity of Nova Scotia since Wentworth came into office. While the province was still in debt an attempt was made in 1795 to raise a fund of £2,000 by lottery for road construction. Wentworth warmly supported the measure, and even received a slight rebuke from the Secretary of State for giving his assent to an Act ofthat nature, "without having received the previous consent of His Majesty."[1] He defended his action on the grounds that,as the people of Nova Scotia had a penchant for speculating in American lotteries, he considered it good policy to keep the money at home and use it for internal improvements. To further assist inland communication the Assembly passed a revenue Act in 1799 placing a tax on public houses to provide a fund for future road construction. In this same year they granted £10,000 for the same purpose, and as the Governor's residence was almost past repair they also granted £10,500 to build a new government house.

1. P.A.N.S.,33,No.72,Portland to Wentworth, Dec.3,1795.

With the exception of the Fishing Industry, progress is the key note in every field of provincial activity during the first half of Wentworth's administration. Writing to Lord Hobart in 1801 on the state of the province he thus describes the change that had come to Nova Scotia since his appointment

"From being a dejected people, inclined to emigrate, disgusted with unprofitable taxes, a large and increasing public debt, .....commerce languishing, agriculture unproductive, and the Fisheries declining, they are now a happy people, attached to their country, contented with the means of revenue, which they scarcely feel.....providing for building a government house, bridges, roads, light-houses, market houses, charitable establishments for the relief of the poor and an institution for the relief of shipwrecked people on the Isle of Sable."[1.]

Thus had Wentworth through the assistance lent by the stimulus of war, the aggressive character of the merchants and the new blood that came to energize the province since 1783, succeeded in changing Nova Scotia from a "cold and barren"

1. P.A.N.S.,53,p.255-258,Wentworth to Hobart,Sept.26,1801.

outpost of Empire into a flourishing maritime colony, where in the 19th century then dawning thousands of emigrants were to find material and spiritual well-being.

# CHAPTER V111.

## DEFENSE.

During the early years of the French Revolutionary Wars Wentworth lived a very active life, devoting the major portion of his time to matters of defense and other war time activities. A study of the administration of military affairs in Nova Scotia during his term of office reveals the difficulties and restrictions which faced a colonial governor when he exercised military authority merely by virtue of his office. The division of authority between the Governor and the officer commanding the regular troops proved a serious handicap to Wentworth in putting the province in a state of defense, and it was only by tact and patience that he succeeded with some semblance of success in carrying out his orders in this respect. While not entirely in accord with his views on defense, the provincial legislature supported him in the measures undertaken in times of emergency, despite the opposition of a leading group among the inhabitants. Impressment for His Majesty's

Ships of War also added to the difficulties surrounding his office as they often led to disputes between the Legislature and the Admirals in command of the Halifax station, and it required the utmost tact on the Governor's part to satisfy both parties. In his relations with the naval and military commanders Wentworth had to tbead a wary path. It was an age in which each department jealously guarded its prerogative, and there is an adroitness and persuasive ability in his dealings with them which if not always successful, reveals that natural bent for diplomacy which had distinguished his character from youth.

At the outbreak of the war between France and England in 1793 Nova Scotia was utterly defenseless. Early in September 1792 two of the regular regiments stationed in the province had been hurriedly transferred to Jamaica, which caused great uneasiness throughout the province. Wentworth suggested to John King that if reinforcements could not be sent out to Nova Scotia, he should be given permission to raise a provincial regiment, as had been done during the American Revolution by Governor Legge. Owing to the large

number of disbanded soldiers settled in Nova Scotia he expected little difficulty in raising such a corps. Official notification of the opening of hostilities was received on April 12th,1793 and with it came orders to transfer the remaining regulars in Nova Scotia to Barbadoes, and instructions to the Governor to baise the provincial regiment. Military operations were then claiming all the available troops England had at her disposal and two regiments were also sent from New Brunswick, where they had been guarding the border country since the Peace in 1783. Nova Scotia was thus left with but one regular corps consisting of a weak company of artillery and one hundred men of the King's Own Regiment, while a small sloop of war was the only naval defense on the coast.

Unable to concentrate any large body of troops in Nova Scotia the imperial government was only too ready to approve Wentworth's suggestion relative to a provincial regiment, and a plan of regulations in relation thereto was immediately drawn up by Secretary Dundas. The corps was to be essentially provincial, though the men were to be enlisted and attested without any restriction of time or locality and were to become

under the control of the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in British North America. At the expiration of their service they were to be disbanded in the province, and to receive a bonus of fifty acres of land, which it was hoped would convince the inhabitants in general that the raising of such a regiment would not remove the men from the province.[1.] On being acquainted by Wentworth of the opening of hostilities, The General Assembly returned addresses expressing their duty and loyalty to the King. The lower house declared their readiness to support the Governor in raising the provincial regiment and assured him that he might place the fullest confidence in "their zeal for the honour of the Crown and the interests of every part of the Empire."[2.]

Through the intercession of Dundas Wentworth received the King's consent to call his corps "The Royal Nova Scotia Regiment." It was to consist of six hundred men upon the pay and allowance of the regular army without rank or half-pay, and if possible the commissions were to go to officers then on half-pay to which they would return at the expiration of the service. Dundas gave him a free hand in selecting the officers

1. C.O.218:27,No.5,Dundas to Wentworth, Feb.8,1793.
2. C.O.217:65,p.148,Journal of the House of Assembly,April 15,179

relying on him to select "without favour or partiality such as from their military talents, character, and their attachment to His Majesty's Person and Government, will best promote the honour and credit of the service."[1] Most of the officers chosen were prominent Loyalists, but in order to procure recruits from the old settlers a few of them also received appointments.

In a rough estimate of the Militia Wentworth placed the total strength at eight to nine thousand men, which was practically a "levee en masse". These he had classed into corps and regiments under the command of half-pay officers. His experience in forming county regiments gained during his administration in New Hampshire, produced good results despite the contempt General Ogilvie displayed toward the provincials. Halifax and the outlying districts contributed two battalions to the number of fifteen hundred men. He also organised a corps of one thousand men called the Nova Scotia Legion who were chosen from the various county regiments and given special training by the half-pay officers in their district. They were drafted mainly as a defense force for the western

1. C.O.218:27,No.5,Dundas to Wentworth, Feb.8,1793.

settlements along the Bay of Fundy, which lay open to attacks from the Americans should the latter at any time join their former ally in the war on Great Britain. Together with the Halifax battalion they represented the most dependable body of militia in the province. From the Governor's estimates it appears that about 4000 men could be collected in the event of an attack but that the remaining four thousand or more would not be drafted unless invasion actually took place.

Being virtually an island Nova Scotia in the first few months of the war was at the mercy of any hostile naval power for hardly a gun guarded the entrance of its many seaport towns. Halifax Harbour, the capital of the province and the key port of British North America was by nature formed for defense. The only entrance for ships of war being but three-quarters of a mile wide with high commanding hills on each side. The approaches to the harbour were covered by a series of batteries on both sides, while a small island(George's Island situated in the middle of the habour near the town was of exceptional strategic importance. Batteries placed on it in conjunction with those on each side of the habour could offer a stiff defense to an invading foe. In 1793 however, the

Halifax outposts were badly in need of repair. The guns were either antiquated or poorly mounted, while the few regular troops at hand could not possibly have defended the various ports if a superior force had been brought against them. On the western coast the old fort at Annapolis had fallen into ruins, while the coastal regions had neither guns nor ammunition with which to defend themselves. Their only alternative in case of invasion was to retreat into the interior.[1.]

Such a condition of affairs required complete harmony between the Governor and the Military Commander, but unfortunately this was lacking. In various ways General Ogilvie appears to have checked recruiting for the provincial regiment, and despite Wentworth's official letter from Dundas authorising him toraise the corps, he refused to consider the provincials as part of the regular defence force.[2.] Furthermore, he declined to arm and equip the militia. His conduct is partly explained by a strict adherence to military regulations, but there was also a tendency on his part to resent the Governor's participation in the military affairs of the province. With

1. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Dundas, July 23,1793.
2. C.O.217:64,p.385-387, Wentworth to Dundas, July 23,1793.

his usual tact, Wentworth did not allow the General's attitude to create any unpleasant situations, but his complaints to Secretary Dundas filled many pages of his official correspondence. As Secretary for Colonies and War Dundas superintended the general defense plans for the colony, and assigned to the Governor and the General their various tasks in relation thereto, but instructions relative to the regulation of the military establishment were issued by the Secretary at War and the Adjutant-General. Dundas accordingly requested the Secretary at War to forward the necessary orders to Ogilvie, and only when they were received did the General consider himself authorized to furnish arms and other equipment to the provincial recruits.[1]

The division of authority in military matters created much confusion and made the early years of the war a trying period for the Governor who was responsible to the King for the safety of the province. Dundas was also extremely annoyed at Ogilvie's attitude, as he was anxious to establish the provincial corps as an auxilary to the regulars. In a confidential letter to Wentworth he observed that "nothing

1. C.O.218:27,No.10, Dundas to Wentworth, Sept.4,1793.

can be more essentially injurious to His Majesty's interests than to start difficulties or to entertain doubts grounded on formalities in respect of the absolute necessity of carrying such orders into execution."[1] His letters to the General however, contain only formal requests for his assistance to the local regiment,[2] and he was obliged either by custom or regulation to forward all such orders to Ogilvie either through the Secretary at War or the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in British North America. In directing military campaigns he sent his orders direct to Ogilvie, who acted immediately on their receipt. This is seen in the attack on the French Fishery at St.Pierre and Miquelon. Early in May 1793 Ogilvie under orders from Dundas attacked the islands with the regular troops under his command assisted by a frigate sent from Newfoundland to co-operate with him. The islands surrendered on the 14th May without the loss of a single man by the British and as his orders called for a complete evacuation of both places he sent five hundred prisoners to Halifax. The attack was well planned, for not only had it caught the French unprepared, but it was carried out just in time. A few weeks

1. C.O.218:27, No.11, Dundas to Wentworth, Oct.3,1793.

2. C.O.218:27,Dundas to Ogilvie, Nov.8,1793.
   C.O.217:64,p.357, Dundas to Ogilvie, July 19,1793

later a French squadron consisting of about six warships and fourteen privateers appeared on the American coast, and Ogilvie was then forced to concentrate entirely on the defense of Nova Scotia.

As the summer advanced the presence of the French fleet at New York and other American ports caused great uneasiness throughout Nova Scotia, for it was felt that the French were eager to retaliate for the loss of their fishery. Moreover, the hostile attitude of the French prisoners at Halifax made the citizens of that town particularly anxious for reinforcements. Towns and hamlets kept appealing for arms as the fear of an attack became almost certain, but it was only after much time had been spent in the exchange of formal notes that Wentworth at length prevailed on General Ogilvie to issue arms, cannon and shot to the principal ports. As the French were increasing their force with the aid of American recruits, a meeting of military authorities was held in October and it was agreed to call out the militia. In making a report to Dundas on the situation Wentworth informed him that among the Militia were seventy-five Acadians, "who were happy in being

incorporated with the English."[1] It is not generally known that small communities of Acadians escaped the great expulsion of their kindred in 1755, or that others made their way back to their old homes with or without the permission of the British government. Since his appointment Wentworth had adopted a kindly attitude towards these people and their ready response to the call for militia shows that they no longer thought of themselves as "Neutral French", but as Nova Scotians and as such, British subjects. Throughout his correspondence there is a warm note of praise for the militia. On this occasion he said that "perhaps a finer body of athletic,healthy young men were never assembled in any country nor men more determined to do their duty."[2]

Throughout the autumn of 1793 Nova Scotia presented busy scenes of war time activity. Through the aid of the militia batteries were erected to guard the entrance of Halifax Harbour and throughout the province guns were mounted, redoubts repaired and in the coastal towns many of the inhabitants even removed their property into inaccessible places in the woods. A secure retreat was also provided for the inhabitants should

1. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Dundas, Nov.9,1793.
2. Ibid.

the French force a landing.[1] As there was not a British ship of war on the Atlantic coast the fear was greatest in the thriving fishing and trading towns where an attack meant certain capture and destruction of most of their property. Fortunately dissensions in the French fleet and the approach of winter caused Genet, the French Ambassador to abandon his plan to attack Nova Scotia, and the Squadron returned to France convoying a fleet of 130 provision ships.[2] Wentworth thereupon dismissed the militia who returned quietly to their homes, having cost the British Treasury approximately £5000 for their pay and subsistence.

Sharp criticism of the government's failure to provide adequate defense for the North American possessions, particularly Nova Scotia, was voiced on both sides of the Atlantic. During the summer of 1793 the citizens of Halifax became so alarmed that a general town meeting was held and a committee chosen from among the leading citizens to address the Governor on the defenseless state of Halifax. After declaring that it was "the duty of every class in the community to come forward with their services to strengthen the executive power,"[3] and

1. P.A.N.S. 50, Wentworth to Dundas, Oct,10,1793.

2. Ibid.

3. C.O.217:64,p.378,Address of the Inhabitants of Halifax to Wentworth, July 23,1793.

assuring the Governor of their confidence in him, they then suggested that he dispatch a fast sailing schooner to Admiral Gardiner in the West Indies, asking him to send naval assistance to Nova Scotia immediately. Despite the respectful sentiments expressed towards him in the address, there was a strong feeling against Wentworth among a certain section of the community who held him partly responsible for the lack of defense. This group did not approve the establishment of the provincial corps nor the drafting of the militia during the summer months, and were convinced that Wentworth's policy had influenced His Majesty's Ministers in reducing the military force in the colony. In an attempt to remedy the situation, they decided to bring pressure to bear upon the Ministry through the Opposition in Parliament. Letters describing the anxiety and dissatisfaction that existed in the province relative to the weak state of its defense were forwarded to Richard Brinsley Sheridan.[1] These arrived in England just in time to be of advantage to the Opposition.

In the debates that followed the King's speech at the opening of Parliament in January 1794, the Earl of Wycomb led

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794. Vol.37, p.206; Ibid, p.400, Sheridan stated thatmany of these came from men in government employ, and two were from members of the Council.

the attack on the government by a critical review of its foreign policy and overseas defense programme. As the session progressed, the debates narrowed down to a lengthy discussion on the West Indian expedition and the defense of British North America. With the information supplied him from Halifax Sheridan made a scathing attack on the Ministry's policy relative to the defense of that town. Not only did he charge the Ministry with "criminal neglect", but he declared that either Dundas or Wentworth were guilty "of having grossly deceived the House of Commons on this important matter."[1] After a graphic description of the panic in Nova Scotia when the French were expected, he turned to Wentworth's report on local defense. This led him to criticize certain aspects of the colonial system. The control of the patronage for the provincial forces, which permitted Wentworth to provide for "relations and dependancies" could not be ignored. He inferred that it was politic of Wentworth to forward home praiseworthy accounts of his corps and the militia in general, and to overestimate their value as a fighting unit. Furthermore, he questioned Wentworth's competence in military matters and

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794, Vol.37,p.407.

reminded the House that "it could not be forgot that he was not a military man, but merely a civilian invested with military rank and office for the sake of the emoluments attached to them."[1] He preferred therefore, to have the opinion of General Ogilvie on this matter rather than that of Governor Wentworth. Other members of the Opposition argued along the same lines. They had proof they said, that Wentworth's corps was so undisciplined that Ogilvie had refused to employ them in any line of service, and "that no part of the institution was approved of by him."[2] A fact which had done much to prevent Wentworth from completing his regiment. Had the Opposition been actuated more by disinterested motives of national policy than by party spirit they would have seen that Ogilvie's obstructionism was as deserving of censure as Wentworth's attempts to whitewash the deficiencies of his regiment. Continuing his attack, Sheridan declared that Dundas had disclosed a fact"highly alarming to this country" and suggested that the House should consider the psychological effect of Dundas' policy in leaving the colony to its own defense. Such a policy he declared, was

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794, Vol.37,p.415.
2. Ibid,p.413.

"mischievous in principle to the safety of all our colonial possessions", as the colonists if "forced to remain always on the defensive, might discover that they were under no obligation to this country, and might therefore think of separating from us."[1] The excessive loyalty of the citizens of Halifax as described by Wentworth, Sheridan declared "was nothing else than an anxiety for their own safety, an anxiety which induced the better sort of people to take spades in the hands and to work on the fortifications like common labourers, in order to inspirit and animate the populace"[2] In his opinion the "criminal neglect"of Government in lowering the military establishment of the colony at a time of such imminent danger justified a parliamentary inquiry. The correspondence between Wentworth and Dundas was called for, as was that between General Ogilvie and His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of Wentworth's corps, and also the addresses of the Merchants of Halifax or their Agents in London.

In reply the Ministry ably defended Wentworth. Dundas declared "that he believed there was no person of more

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794, Vol37,p.415.
2. Ibid, p.416.

distinguished merit or more perfectly qualified for the situation he filled than that gentleman....."[1] He revealed that Wentworth did not receive any emolument as Colonel of his regiment, and since it was generally conceded that no Governor ever yet was prone to exaggerate the strength of the place he commanded, his testimony was entitled to every degree of credit." Pitt endorsed Dundas' opinion of Wentworth and declared that the evidence as cited by Sheridan was based on information contained in an anonymous letter, which "was not surely to be put in competition with the Report of the Governor."[2] From a biographical viewpoint perhaps the most intersting testimony of Wentworth's character was that made by Burke. In view of the lateness of the hour to which the debate had extended he declined to discuss the policy or impolicy of colonisation, and said that

"He rose merely to bear testimony of the good conduct of that excellent man, and active officer, Governor Wentworth, whom he had long known. He was sober, sedate and faithful to the trust reposed in him, and his vigorous exertions for the defense of Halifax had been too well examplified to require

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794, Vol.37,p.408.
2. Ibid, p.206.

his panegyric."[1] After Burke's speech the Opposition hastened to retract the insinuations against Wentworth's character. They declared that "no man had dared to traduce him or to drop the slightest insinuation prejudicial to his reputation."[2] The debate then turned to the conduct of the Admiralty and the complaints of the merchants at the inadequate protection of their trade.

During the discussions on colonial defense the London merchants trading to NovaScotia had endeavoured to bring pressure to bear on the Ministry. Frequent meetings were held at Lloyd's and the New York Coffee House and addresses asking him to send relief to Halifax were sent to Dundas. When Lloyds received information in February 1794 that a French squadron had evaded the British patrols and made for America, the merchants informed Dundas that they would not send the usual spring shipment of merchandize to Nova Scotia, usually amounting to £100,000, unless a naval force was sent out immediately. Dundas however, made no move to send relief until early in May 1794, when he informed Wentworth that a considerable squadron was being sent out to protect the British American provinces and the trade carried on

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, 1794, Vol.37, p.244.
2. Ibid.

by His Majesty's subjects with the United States.

In defending his policy relative to the defense of Nova Scotia, Dundas plainly stated that he had disregarded the French squadron in American waters, as it was known that their primary concern was to protect their West Indian Trade. Their arrival in the United States had been sheer accident for which the Ministry could not be held responsible. In justifying his action in withdrawing the troops from the Maritime provinces, he said he had done so deliberately as he was convinced that the militia could be trusted to protect the province. Fears that the French would stir up revolt among the slaves, and an engagement entered into by His Majesty's Government with the royalist groups in the French West Indies, had prompted the Ministry to concentrate all the available troops at their disposal in that quarter of the world. He then reminded the House of the narrow peace establishment of both the army and the navy. At the outset of the war the standing army had consisted of only 9000 men and though it had been increased to 54,000 within the year, yet it had not been possible to spare any of those troops for Nova Scotia. With reference to the Navy he stated that there

were 13,000 seamen on the establishment in 1792. This had grown to 85,000 but the scattered position of the fleet inthe early months of the war and the necessity of stationing a squadron in the Channel, and one in the Mediterranean, together with the demands of the West Indian campaign had left him no option but to leave a gap in the defense of the North American provinces.[1] The risks in this quarter of the world had seemed insignificant compared to the needs of the West Indies and the promise of the rich prizes to be had in the French islands. He had deliberately relied therefore on the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects in Nova Scotia to protect themselves, and from Wentworth's enthusiastic reports of the local defense force, most of whom were ex-soldiers, he had reason to believe that the province could resist any small force which the French could bring against them. This had been the weak point in his defense policy, and fortunately for him the enemy had been unable to use the opportunity afforded them to strike at the vulnerable point. It is important to note that the Ministry placed great faith in the ability of the Federalist party in the United

1. Parliamentary Register, Commons, Vol.37,p.408,411.

States to preserve the neutrality of that nation.[1] Dundas was not so easily disturbed by the anti-British propaganda of the Democratic Party as were the Nova Scotians, who under the fear of a Franco-American invasion did not hesitate to appeal over the head of the Governor and also of Dundas to the Opposition in Parliament.

This action on the part of the Nova Scotians was not without precedent. The temporary alignment of the colonists, merchants and Parliamentary Opposition in an attemp to coerce the Ministry is reminiscent, though in a minor degree, of the days of the Stamp Act and the years preceding the Revolution. During this period the link with the Old Empire is very marked, as it was a transitional stage for both colonies and mother country alike. Change came slowly and in protesting to Parliament against the Ministry's defense policy the Nova Scotians were merely adopting the political tactics employed by theirforbears on somewhat similar occasions in the past. Throughout the entire discussion on defense there is much that is reminiscent of the days of the First British Empire. Under the Old Colonial System it had been impossible for the mother country and the thirteen colonies

1. C.O.217:65,p.264-270, Dundas to Wentworth, July 5,1794.

to reach a satisfactory agreement as to what constituted a proper basis for the contribution of the colonies to an imperial war. Some of the Colonies had contributed generously, while others had almost to be bribed to defend themselves. At the close of the Seven Years War in 1763 the opinion generally prevailed in England that the colonists had not done their proper share in the war. The initiation of a policy which aimed to force them to maintain an army at their own expense opened up the question of constitutional relationship between them and in the end led to rebellion and independence.

The Legislature of Nova Scotia mindful of this had probably supported Wentworth's plan for a provincial regiment therefore, not only from motives of patriotism, but also from a desire to impress the home authorities with their willingness to bear their share in the war. His Majesty's Ministers on their part made no attempt to obtain a defense revenue from the remaining colonies during the French Revolutionary Wars, but they had not abandoned the idea of transferring some portion of the burden of imperial defense on to the shoulders of the colonists. They looked to them to supply enough man power for provincial regiments financed

by the British government, to assist whatever regulars could be spared for the various provinces.

Opposition to this policy in the colony was based primarily on economic principles. A group in opposition to Wentworth disapproved of a local defense force because of the interruption to the economic life of the colony. They argued that a young country like Nova Scotia could ill afford to withdraw men from the farms and the fisheries, as it not only limited the supply of produce for home consumption and increased prices, but it greatly reduced the export trade, particularly to the West Indies. They looked to the mother country for protection and when it was not forthcoming they decided to place the matter before Parliament. In doing so party spirit played no small part, for the occasion was taken as an opportunity of attacking Wentworth just as in England the Opposition used it effectively against the Ministry, in particular Henry Dundas.

Though Dundas publicly declared his faith in Wentworth, yet from a secret dispatch to Nova Scotia during the debates, it is evident that doubts had arisen in official circles as to the accuracy of the Governor's reports. The Governor was requested

to forward a more detailed and accurate account of affairs when the French were expected, while it was suggested that it would be good policy if he could secure an address from the Assembly, which would express not only confidence in the Governor, but also "include the Parliament of England and a belief in these entrusted with the business of His Majesty's Colonies abroad, and in the zeal.....of His Majesty's subjects.[1] As soon as the Assembly met Wentworth carried out his instructions and was happy in being able to report that the Assembly had approved of his measured for defense. It is evident that they supported him not only because of his "zealous exertions" for the defense of the province but also because it was their policy at this time to strengthen the hand of government. Lessons drawn from the American Rebellion and the spirit of change that was abroad in their contemporary world tended to check criticism and dissension in Nova Scotia, particularly among the Loyalists. Though public opinion had been roused on this occasion yet the provincial government were content to register their disapproval by quietly reminding Wentworth that as the enlistment of the militia was attended

1. C.O.217:36, Rough draft of a private and secret letter, unsigned.

with "inconvenient consequences" to agriculture, they hoped such a condition of affairs would not again occur.[1.]

From the evidence at hand it does not appear that Wentworth at any time intentionally misrepresented the state of affairs in Nova Scotia. Because of the large soldier element in the colony and the patriotic sentiments of the Loyalists, he planned to organise the militia into valuable fighting units to act as auxiliaries to the regulars. In his eagerness to co-operate with Dundas he had allowed his enthusiasm to prevail over his better judgment, and his first accounts of the local forces should be interpreted as relating more to the potential value of the militia than a description of them as they actually were. This may have led Dundas into believing that the colony was more defensive than it was. Nevertheless, it does not excuse him from providing some defense. It was the absence of either a military or naval force in the colony which caused a panic, and led the people into believing that Wentworth's plan for a provincial corps had influenced His Majesty's Ministers in withholding reinforcements. Whatever censure is due in this case should go to Dundas, as Wentworth had not neglected to

1. C.O.217:66,p.142, Assembly Journal, June 7,1794.

inform him on the state of defenses throughout the colony.[1.] The Governor realised that no troops could be spared for Nova Scotia and despite opposition succeeded in getting the province into a reasonable state of preparedness which would have offered a stiff resistance to the French had they attacked. The attitude of General Ogilvie to the establishment of a provincial corps and the arming of the militia hindered preparations for defense, and had it not been for Wentworth's influence with the county militia he would have been left to defend Halifax with a handful of regulars. The conflict between the military and civil commanders was well known in the colony and did much to embarrass Wentworth before the people and to weaken his hand at this time. Insinuations that he favoured a provincial regiment because of the patronage attached to it were circulated throughout the province, but Nova Scotia was not singular in having its own corps. The other provinces were also requested to provide a provincial regiment. Admittedly it did increase his influence, and the officers chosen were fellow Loyalists, if not relations, which gave rise to critical attacks from those outside his favour especially from a group of old settlers.

1. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Dundas, Nov.22,1793.

Wentworth accused Richard John Uniacke, the Solicitor General, as being the leader of this opposition. Early in January 1795 he had occasion to strike back. In a most defamatory letter against Uniacke he advised King, the Under Secretary of State, not to consider him for promotion should the expected vacancy in the legal department take place at this time. He accuses Uniacke of treasonable tendencies when he says

"His conduct is dark and insidious, secretly connected with seditious purposes and giving advice against the service..... from such means arose the popular inquietudes on Mr.Sheridan's speech and the letters to him, all of which have subsided, and some repugnance to obedience to my plans among the militia, which will soon be remedied.....It is not yet so much within my power as to make it prudent to dismiss him, yet it is incumbent on me to present this confidential caution, as I expect interest will be made for his promotion in this province by Baron George of Dublin and Messrs.Uniacke of Cork. It will be expedient to refer to me for information on his recommendation"[1]

This dates the commencement of a long standing feud between the two, in which Uniacke reveals a political tact as keen and unerring as that of the Governor. The above letter foreshadows

1. C.O.217:36, Private and Secret letter Wentworth to King, Jan.7,1795.

similar tactics, which Wentworth will use against William Cottnam Tonge, a leading Assemblyman of the period, who unlike Uniacke incautiously sought popularity among the commons of Nova Scotia at the expense of his own political well being. It is interesting to watch Uniacke playing politics along lines similar to those of Wentworth, and which makes him the more interesting ofthe two leading progressives in the province during this period.

As a reward for his services at this time Dundas shortly after recommended Wentworth to the King for a baronetcy, which he received in 1795. He had been promised this award during the administration of Lord North, but a change in government had prevented its taking place. The honour was well deserved for no man had shown more devotion to the loyal cause during the American Revolution than John Wentworth. Such a distinguishing mark of royal favour must have created a deep impression in the province, as colonials seldom received such an honour. It tended no doubt to raise his prestige in such a small province, as Nova Scotia then was.

From an analysis of the debates and correspondence on

defense, it seems safe to assume that in the home country the creation of a separate department of war followed as a direct result of the Parliamentary investigation. The campaigns since the commencement of hostilities had been such as to convince His Majesty's Ministers of the need of co-ordination in the various departments of war. Delays and confusion had attended the first expedition in the West Indies, while in Nova Scotia Dundas had been extremely annoyed and worried by the lack of harmony and co-operation in a time of crisis, when so much depended on local efforts. It was primarily to strengthen the defenses of the Empire rather than to find a secretaryship for the Duke of Portland that Pitt had decided to separate the Home Department from that of War.[1] In a letter to Lord Hawkesbury early in July 1794 he explained that he was "separating the Home Department from what relates to the business of War,"because of the "great and increased pressure of each of those branches of business" which,"I have for some time past thought to be a very desirable measure". The general supervision of the war was given to Dundas, who was appointed Secretary of State for War, while the colonies came

1. Add.Mss.,Brit.Mus.,Liverpool Papers,Vol.lll,p.95, Pitt to Hawkesbury, July 7,1794.

under the Duke of Portland, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Though the policy of transferring some portion of the burden of imperial defense onto the shoulders of the colonists had not proved popular in Nova Scotia, yet His Majesty's Ministers made no attempt to give it up, principally because of the difficulty in securing recruits for the army. The high mortality among the troops engaged in the West Indian campaign exacted a heavy toll among the regular regiments and Wentworth was urged to complete the provincial corps with as little delay as possible.

Despite popular dislike of military service Wentworth had sufficient influence in the Legislature to procure the passage of a Militia Act in 1795, which required every male inhabitant to be enrolled in some independent company. They were to be called out six times a year, and were subject to a fine if they failed to appear on the day of the exercise.[1.] That the penalties for non-performance of duty were strictly exacted is evident from a report of the Chief Justice, in which he states that most of the civil cases tried on the circuit for the year in question arose from evasions of militia duty. Another Act

1. P.A.N.S. Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, published at Halifax by Anthony Henry, Apr.12,1795.

of 1795, whereby exhorbitant charges then being demanded for the transportation of troops was prbhibited,while soldiers on the march were provided with a dinner a day at the expense of the Provincial Treasury. Further provincial aid was extended towards this service by voluntary subscriptions taken up at various times during the war. Inspired by Wentworth the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment donated one week's pay(approximately £200) to the national defense fund, as a token of their devotion to the King and Empire in the great struggle then being waged against Napoleon. The Province, following the example set by the local corps, contributed about £5000. Many of the sub-
scriptions were renewed annually until the close of the war.[1.]

In the summer of 1794 the military command of the province passed to Prince Edward, the fourth son of King George III. After taking a distinguished part against Guadaloupe and Martinique, the Prince came north and landed at Halifax. Instead of proceeding to Quebec to rejoin his regiment, he petitioned for the military command of Nova Scotia and its dependencies. Wentworth strongly supported him as he was most anxious for the removal of General Ogilvie. In soliciting in the Prince's

1. P.A.N.S.,52,p.152-157,Wentworth to Portland,April 24,1798.

favour he contrasted the happy influence his residence would have on the people, compared to that of the present "unpopular" General. He declared that the "ungracious and disrespectful" attitude of Ogilvie tended to encourage those "who obstruct or oppose the King's Governor, which is certainly the case now", and he therefore strongly recommended a change.[1] As Dundas was eager to establish harmony between the Governor and the Military Commander the consent of the King soon followed. For the next six years Prince Edward was indefatigable in his efforts to strengthen the defense of the Maritime Provinces, particularly Nova Scotia. During his stay in the province he lived on very friendly and intimate terms with Wentworth and his family, and the friendship thus begun in 1794 lasted throughout life. Both died within a short time of each other in the year 1820.

Wentworth's worries in relation to the local corps were by no means dispelled with the coming of the Prince. Though the new commander gave his patronage to the regiment, it soon became apparent that his ambition to establish a model regiment was only to be gratified by drafting the best men from the Nova Scotia regiment into the Fusileers under his command. The enlistment

1. C.O.217:36, Wentworth to King, May 19,1794.
   Ibid; Wentworth to King Jan.7,1795, On the resignation of Lord Dorchester Prince Edward requested the military command at Quebec and proposed Wentworth to be the Civil Governor. He also suggested that the islands of Cape Breton and St.John be restored to Nova Scotia, but nothing came of the matter.

of men for a local regiment had not been too popular and if transfers took place it meant that the men would eventually leave the province. This was contrary to the principles and public faith upon which they had been raised, and aside from the pride he naturally took in his own corps, Wentworth realised the good policy of keeping the men in Nova Scotia. Perhaps the dominant note throughout this period is the cry "more labourers" to fish, to farm and to trade, and it is noteworthy that the Governor never neglected an opportunity to people his province or to sell its wares. The Secretary of State was in agreement with him on the matter, and in firm but gracious language he informed His Royal Highness that he must desist from the practic But as Wentworth remarked to John King,"the Prince cannot resist the temptation of taking a fine man into his regiment nor a fine horse into his stable"[2], and it required more than one ministeria dispatch to convince him that the transfers(in most cases compulsory)were not desirable either to the province or to the colonial office.

Another knotty problem was Prince Edward's demands for large drafts of militia to aid in repairing and erecting

1. C.O.218:27, Portland to Prince Edward, Dec.31,1795.
2. C.O.217:66,p.208-211, Wentworth to King, Oct.28,1795.

fortifications. The Prince concentrated principally on the defense of Halifax and its outposts. The Citadel, overlooking the town and harbour and commanding a splendid view of the surrounding countryside, was reconstructed and modernised. On completion he expected it to be almost impregnable. Owing to the cold climate of Nova Scotia such work could only be carried on during the late spring and summer months, just when the inhabitants could ill afford to leave their farms. With so few regulars at his disposal(400 approximately)the Prince needed th assistance of the militia if he wished to carry out his great scheme of fortifications. On these occasions it required all the tact and influence Wentworth possessed to smooth over the many difficulties that arose. Through the aid of prominent county men he would secure as many recruits from the agricultur districts that could be spared, and then make up the difference with drafts from the coastal areas. Prince Edward viewed the militia with the scorn of a man bred to the army and became extremely annoyed when, without warning, they would leave the fortifications and return to their farms. Throughout the years 1794 to 1800 he sought to impress on His Majesty's Ministers

the need for reinforcements, declaring that the Militia could not be depended upon. He further assured them "that there is a large number of disaffected persons in this province, whom it required the appearance of a very respectable military force to keep in proper subjection and obedience to Government."[1.] The Admiral on the station shared the Prince's contempt for civilian soldiers, and likewise reported that disaffection existed among the inhabitants. In a confidential letter to Dundas he described the militia as an "undisciplined mob," who came and went as they pleased.[2.]

Throughout the course of colonial history American colonists had as a rule shown distaste for military service, and were restive when under the command of officers sent out from the home country. Contact with the wilderness and the savage had bred a race of men high spirited and independent of character. They therefore required the leadership of a man born and bred a colonial. John Wentworth, by birth and training, understood well the people he had to govern, and by tact and persuasive ability was usually able to reconcile them to such obnoxious measures as compulsory military service. The Home Government

1. W.O.1:17, No.7,p.82-88; Prince Edward to Dundas, May 19,1795
2. Ibid., p.148-150, Murray to Dundas, Sept.16,1794.

while anxious to establish a trained militia and improve defenses, was sympathetic with the colonists in their refusal to serve during seed and harvest time. Accordingly they recommended the Prince to use discretion and moderation in his demands for colonial labour.

The Nova Scotians like their American cousins had few or any class distinctions among them. Thus they differed radically from the labouring classes in an older country like England. This important difference unperceived by visiting Admirals and Generals caused them to mistake the pioneer spirit that pervaded the colony for contemporary republicanism. It is true that there had been an active party in Nova Scotia who had favoured the Americans in their struggle over constitutional rights, and scattered throughout the province might still be found ardent republicans, but as a Nova Scotian stated to Lord Castlereagh in 1807

"whatever predilliction for the American side of the question at the commencement of the Revolution was felt by many of the settlers in this province(and there were numbers who as well as many of their fellow subjects in Great Britain did favour that

side)be assured my Lord that a different sentiment now prevails - we have long been accustomed to look on the Americans as a foreign people, our rivals in Commerce, and many instances of of their extortion, insolence and even violence(in the fisheries) have tended to create disgust and alienate our subjects from them."[1.] Since 1783 many factors had been at work forcing apart the peoples of these two countries, who had once been united under the British flag. The Loyalists, driven from their homes into the wilderness of Nova Scotia, regarded with hatred not only the victorious rebels, but the political principles that had triumphed with them. Commercial rivalry and the depredations on American commerce by Nova Scotian privateers during the French Revolutionary Wars helped to widen the breach occasioned by the Revolution. With the advent of the war of 1812 seeds of nationalism were sown, which were to make that breach permanent. It is true that social intercourse and a common culture prevented the growth of national enmity between them and made them appear almost as one people, but there was a strong undercurrent of imperial sentiment and loyalty to the Crown among the Nova Scotian soldiers which made an alliance impossible. Political

1. C.O.217:81,p.712, Anonymous letter to Castlereagh,Aug.26,1807.

progress in Nova Scotia was destined to come, but from within, and not from a political tie with the United States.

Desertion from the Army and Navy during this period provided another source of friction between the people and the officers of His Majesty's service. The Nova Scotians led to believe that the soldiers in the regular regiments had been forced into the army against their will, were usually willing to aid those who escaped. Despite Wentworth's warning that retaliatory measures would be taken, it proved almost impossible to round up the culprits. Though the Nova Scotians were not averse to enticing men from the services, yet they strongly resented the impressment of local men to serve on board His Majesty's ships. Open street brawls between the impress gang and the citizens of Halifax were frequent, and at times became the subject of heated debates in the Assembly. There was much ill-feeling between the merchants and His Majesty's Officers over impressment. The merchants were accused of enticing men from the service by offering better rations and higher wages than could be had in the navy. On the other hand it often happened that after an impress a trader would find his vessel

tied up at the wharf for want of men to sail her. On one occasion a naval captain seriously contemplated a lawsuit against a local merchant over an impress dispute. Wentworth was quick to warn the Admiral not to allow the case to come to court, as in his opinion it would be detrimental to the King's service. It meant opening up public discussion on a subject, which he thought could best be handled by the authorities. This is typical of the Governor's attitude to all such questions throughout his term of office. He endeavoured by compromise and tact to avoid disputes between the colonists and the King's Forces. The history of events leading up to the American Revolution had convinced him that open discussion on subjects of this nature tended to weaken the cordial relations between the mother country and the colony.

With the coming of Peace in 1802 the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment was disbanded, after having filled a real need in the defense system for the period. With the resumption of hostilities in 1803 there was no attempt to re-establish the corps. This may have been due to the difficulties encountered in its organisation, and the controversial issues that had been raised

within the province between the Governor, the General and the people. However, it seems more likely that it was the exhorbitant charges connected with its maintenance. The principle underlying the formation of this regiment,"had in view, to a certain extent and at a comparative small expense, the providing of a regiment and stationary defense for the North American provinces"[1]. Instead, immense sums appear to have been spent in the employment of local forces, which no doubt induced the Home Government in 1803 to leave the province to the protection of the North Atlantic Squadron and a few hundred regulars. The provincial brig supplied and maintained by the British Government was likewise disposed of. This had been employed in transporting troops and in protecting the provincial trade and fisheries, as His Majesty's ships were usually engaged in patrolling the avenues of trade leading to the States and the West Indies and could give little assistance in this quarter. It is impossible to form any estimate of the total amount expended on local defense because the Governor's accounts were so confused that even the Imperial auditors found it impossible to balance them out yearly. From the outset of the war the home government

1. C.O.217:71,p.14-15,Portland to Prince Edward,April 23,1795.

had continually recommended Wentworth and also Prince Edward to observe the strictest economy in defense matters, but it was not until 1798 that any check was made on the Governor's returns. In that year however, the Duke of Portland severely reprimanded Wentworth and informed him, that in accordance with his duty and the attention he owed to the disbursement of the Public Money, he must receive a satisfactory explanation at once relative to the exhorbitant increase in the pay lists of the brig.[1.]

For the next few years Wentworth's accounts became a matter of serious consideration to the Secretary of State. As the military accounts became the subject of an investigation with those relating to the establishment of the Jamaican Maroons in Nova Scotia, it is difficult to state whether of themselves they were sufficiently to warrant such a strict examination as was given them. There is no doubt that there was a misappropriation of funds. How far the Governor was personally involved in those relating to the military expenses it is difficult to state. From the outset of the war circumstances had repeatedly caused him to incur heavy expenses for the general maintenance of the corps. General Ogilvie's refusal to ration the provincial troops

1. C.O.218:27, No.37, Portland to Wentworth, Nov.9,1798.

necessitated provisioning them from the open market at war time prices, while the problem of clothing was a constant complaint during the existence of his regiment, caused either by delays and neglect in England or capture at sea. At one time four hundred suits destined for the corps were taken by the French and sent into Boston to be sold by auction. Wentworth was compelled to purchase them at a very high price, as the provincial soldiers were so ragged that they had to lend clothes to one another when doing guard duty,[1] a decided contrast to the regular regiments who were well fed and warmly clad and received an enlistment bounty of ten guineas in contrast to the two guineas offered the provincials. Owing to his generous and kindly nature Wentworth was many times imposed on by the officers commanding the various companies in the outposts. There was one instance particularly embarrassing for him, when an officer's servant made a formal complaint to the General in Command at Halifax that he had not received his pay for over fifteen months. Wentworth himself declared that the charges for one post were "beyond example."[2] In reprimanding these men he shows a tolerance hardly deserving and suggested meeting some of the

1. P.A.N.S.,51,p.247-249,Wentworth to Portland,Apr.18,1795.

2. P.A.N.S.,53,p.138-141,Wentworth to Lt.Col.Kearsey,Sept.24,1800

deficits himself rather than further discredit should fall upon the regiment. The militia expenses were also extremely high, but on Wentworth's retirement in 1807, General Prevost who succeeded him, declared that "Sir John's arrangements respecting them when embodied may be considered as expensive by government, but I cannot perceive any alternative that he had."[1]

There was also a small Indian department in the province, which also helped to increase the defense lists of the mother country as the provincial government did not contribute to the support of the natives until 1802. That the Micmac Indians were at no time a menace to the settlers was due to the foresight of Wentworth. In the early years of thw war he suggested that the home government grant a bounty of at least £200 a year to provision and clothe them. This was granted and the Indians were placed under the direction of his cousin, Major Monk, Superintendent of Indians. Throughout his regime Wentworth displayed a kindly and benevolent attitude towards the red men and often interviewed many of the leading braves at Government House, in order as he said, to discover their needs and to see

1. P.A.N.S.,58, Prevost to Castlereagh, Apr.27,1808

that everything they received was useful. Wentworth made an attempt to encourage them to cultivate their lands and to adopt "English clothes instead of their former savage dress" but after ten years of assistance the condition of the Indian does not seem to have improved. The task of civilising the red man was to be difficult and of long duration. Though provided with farming implements and seed the Micmacs of the early 19th centurty displayed very little enthusiasm towards cultivating their holdings, preferring to hunt and fish as did their more virile forefathers. Once or twice they assembled at various places with the intention, they said, of going into Canada to join their brethren in a war on the Mohawks. The Governor learned however, that French emissaries had been among them with news that the French would soon invade Canada with 20,000 troops and depended on the aid of their old allies. Nothing came of the matter and the Indians returned to their settlements. Perhaps their greatest offense during this period was the occasional theft of a sheep or two from the outlying farms. When the militia were called to Halifax and other forts in times of expected invasion, the Indians were placed under the

command of their superintendent as part of the defense forces. In soliciting the bounty for the Indians Wentworth had assured Dundas that it was only to be a temporary relief. On the contrary the expense lists connected with their maintenance shows a marked increase, rising from £200 per annum in 1793 to £600 in 1796, which brought a sharp rebuke from Portland.[1.] The fact that Wentworth had appointed his cousin to be Superintendent of this department inevitably led to criticism.[2.] In a small colony as Nova Scotia then was, scandal thrives easily, and those not in favour at Government House were not sparing in their attacks on the ever widening patronage system of Wentworth. Graft and incompetence there undoubtedly was, particularly among government contractors. Severe criticism of the manner in which the five hundred prisoners from St.Pierre had been provisioned and transported to France had been made by their representatives to the British Consul in Philadelphia.[3.] Though Wentworth may have in some degree benefited by this business it is fairly evident that the contractors were responsible for the shortage of food and the poor quality of the provisions. Overburdened with the work entailed in the supervision of these various activities

1. C.O.218:27,Portland to Wentworth,Dec.14,1796.

2. P.A.N.S.,48,Wentworth to Dundas,July 23,1793.

3. P.A.N.S.,51,p.191-198,Wentworth to Phineas Bond,Sept.24,1794.
   Ibid,p.160-162,Wentworth to Major Thomas,July 29,1794.

he appears to have placed too great a faith in the honour of his subordinates, and their delinquency added to his own shortcomings eventually caught him up in a maze of financial difficulties which almost brought him public disgrace and recall.

One of the most significant features of this particular study is the great expense entailed by the mother country in the defense of just one small province among her overseas possessions It is not surprising therefore, that when English statesmen came to regard that portion of the Napoleonic War Debt that had accrued from colonial defense, there should be an increase in the "Little Englander" sentiment that had made its appearance in the mother country following the loss of the American colonies.

In Nova Scotia on the other hand, the frequent assemblying of the militia helped not only to emphasise the link with the Empire, but by bringing the Loyalists and pre-Loyalists together it forced these groups to sink their differences before the more urgent matter of defense. The transition from the Old to the New Empire took place during the French Revolutionary Wars. In Nova Scotia they were an important factor in welding together what were once American colonists into a body of patriotic Nova Scotians.

## CHAPTER IX.

# NOVA SCOTIA AS A FACTOR IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

As a British colony within easy reach of the New England States, Nova Scotia was naturally effected by the relations betwee Great Britain and the United States. On the eve of the war in 1793, negotiations were being carried on between the two countries with a view to settling the matters still unadjusted as a result of the non-execution of the Treaty of Peace in 1783. While these discussions were under way Frence declared war on England and questions of neutrality were then added to the already long list of complicated matters.

As the war advanced, the Nova Scotian privateers joined His Majesty's ships in the war on neutral shipping, and in time American ships carrying contraband goods began to outnumber the French captures. The condemnation of American prizes in British Admiralty Courts, particularly at Halifax and Bermuda, aroused resentment to Britain throughout the United States, while the impressment of sailors from American vessels fanned it at times

into open attacks on British subjects and ships in American ports. Thus it occasionally happened that Nova Scotian traders were attacked by mobs in Boston or New York in retaliation for seizures made by the British. England however, had no wish to wage war with her former colonies. Her policy during this period was to improve her relations with the States and to wean the Americans from French influence. As Governor of Nova Scotia Wentworth was frequently called upon by His Majesty's Ministers at Philadelphia to co-operate with him in easing the tension that so often occurred in Anglo-American relations. Throughout this period he played a minor but important bole in the cause of Anglo-American amity.

The decision of the American Government to remain neutral was proclaimed April 22nd, 1793 by President Washington, much to the indignation of American democrats and the new French Minister to the United States, the Citizen Genet. The enthusiastic reception accorded Genet was climaxed in Philadelphia where ardent democrats soon formed a society after the manner of the Jacobin Club in Paris.[1] This grew and flourished until nearly every important town in the United States could boast of a

1. John Bach McMaster, A History of the People of the United States,1775-1865, D.Appleton and Co., New York, 1888, Vol.2,p.8.

similar club, ready and eager to toast the Rights of the Man. The Citizen Genet thus brought the French Revolution into American Politics, and enabled the democratic leaders to form a nation wide opposition party, pro-French in sentiment as opposed to the pro-English Federalists. Alarmed at the course of events in France, the Federalist Party closed its ranks against the Gaelic influence in American politics, and began to sympathise with the cause of "law and order."

The espousal of the French cause by the popular element in the United States caused great uneasiness throughout Nova Scotia, as it might lead to a Franco-American alliance. By the spring of 1794 this fear became almost a certainty. Not only did the serious differences then disturbing Anglo-American relations still remain unsettled, but Britain's naval policy was forcing matters to a crisis. By resuscitating the Rule of 1756 which forbade a neutral to prosecute in time of war, a trade that was closed to it in time of peace, England had temporarily brought American commerce in the French West Indies to a standstill. Acting under an Order in Council, November 1793, British frigates captured about two hundred and fifty American vessels trading

with the French islands. As a great portion of this trade had been open to the United States in time of peace this new Order could not be justified by the Rule of 1756. When news of this drastic naval policy reached the United States in the spring of 1794, public indignation was roused. To allay the war fever against Great Britain, President Washington placed an Embargo on American shipping for sixty days. It was also decided to send a special envoy, John Jay, to England in a last effort to preserve friendly relations between the two countries.[1]

So strong was the feeling against Great Britain that at Machias, Maine privateers were fitted up to prey upon the neighbouring British provinces, which, during the heated debates in Congress were referred to as "objects of enterprise." It was also proposed to confiscate all British property in the United States,[2] a threat which created alarm among the British mercantile groups at New York and other American ports. At once they petitioned Wentworth for permission to ship their goods and property duty free into Nova Scotia, with the intention of taking up residence there. Like other leading Nova Scotians of the day Wentworth was anxious to attract British capital to the province, but being a New Englander he felt convinced that economic considerations would

1. Samuel Hogg Barnes, Jay's Treaty, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1923, p.158.

2. P.A.N.S.,48,No.118, Wentworth to Dundas, May 6, 1794,
   Ibid, 51, Wentworth to Forsyth, May 14, 1794.

in the end prevail over the war fever then agitating the American people. Such a commercial transfer would have been a great boon to Nova Scotia, as Halifax would have become a distributing centre for British goods, which eventually would find their way into the American markets through illegal channels. Wentworth's analysis of the situation proved to be correct. The Federalists prevented the enactment of anti-British legislation while the British government modified the Orders in Council and opened the recently conquered French islands to American shipping. This latter measure roused the keen business sense of the American traders to prevent a continuation of the Embargo beyond the prescribed time limit.

Though nothing came of the matter Nova Scotia continued to cherish her ambition to become a flourishing entrepot in the trade between the United States and Great Britain and the United States and the West Indies. Frequent suggestions to this effect were made to His Majesty's Ministers, but it was not until the famous Embargo of 1807-1809 that the Imperial government turned its attention to the matter. The Embargo of 1794 had little effect on the commerce of Nova Scotia. It is true that through the

initiative of Wentworth great efforts were made by the merchants to ship provisions to the West Indies, but they were seriously handicapped by the lack of vessels. In the Governor's correspondence on the subject the infant state of the carrying trade of Nova Scotia at this time stands out in striking contrast to the expanding merchant marine of the United States. The strained relations between the two countries did much to impede progress in the province during the first years of the war. Owing to the French invasion alarms and interuptions to agriculture and the fisheries were frequent, while many vessels were captured by French privateers operating from American ports. A good example of the violence of the American mob against Britain at this time took place at Boston early in 1795. A Nova Scotia trader bound for Halifax was forced by stress of bad weather to put into that port. Suspected of being a Bermudian privateer the brig was burned to the water's edge, the captain and crew escaping with their lives.[1.]

Shortly after his arrival in the United States the Citizen Genet had equipped, commissioned and sent cruising French privateers partly manned by American sailors to prey upon British

1. McMaster, A History of the People of the United States; 1775-1865, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1882, Vol. 2, p. 219.
P.A.N.S., 51, Wentworth to Portland, July 5, 1795.

shipping and the British colonies. He also had instructed French consuls in American ports to act as a Court of Vice Admiralty for the trial and condemnation of British prizes, and among his first victims were three valuable brigs belonging to Nova Scotia.[1] Until the summer of 1794 when a British squadron was sent out to patrol the coasts of North America, provincial trade suffered considerably from the attacks of these French-American corsairs.

During the first anxious months of war Wentworth's wide acquaintance with leading families of the United States was of untold advantage, for it enabled him to keep in close touch with American affairs. The correspondence carried on between the Nova Scotians and their friends and relatives across the border was also very helpful, as it kept the province in general well informed as to the activities of the French fleet. It is interesting to note that whenever a French squadron in American waters was planning an attack on the British eastern provinces, sympathetic Americans would at once send off a warning to Nova Scotia.[2] This shows that despite the recent schism in the Empire and the pro-French sentiment of the American public British traditions and family ties still operated as a common bond between the Maritime Provinces and the New England States.

1. McMaster, op.cit.,p.98; P.A.N.S., 50, Wentworth to Bruce, May 10, 1793.

2. P.A.N.S.,50, Wentworth to Admiral Key, Aug.23,1793.

Loyalists returning to their former homes do not appear to have been molested in the northern states except those whose conduct during the revolutionary war had been particularly offensive, but in the southern states the feeling against them ran high, and any who ventured to return were promptly subjected to the penalties imposed by Acts of Attainder.[1] In great measure this was due to the ruthlessness with which the Southern Loyalists had carried on the war against the rebels, and is a partial explanation of the strong anti-British sentiment displayed by the southern representatives in Congress during the years 1783-1815, a fact seldom if ever mentioned by historians of the period.

The ratification of Jay's Treaty gradually eased the tension between Great Britain and the United States. In the years directly following, Robert Liston, the British Minister at Philadelphia, strove to effect a rapprochement between the two countries. Liston utilized to the full the pro-British sentiment prevailing in the northern states. In the American cabinet he found many friends to Britain, particularly Thomas Pickering, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The hostile

1. F.O.5:14, Liston to Grenville, July 3,1796.
Article lll of Jay's Treaty stipulated freedom of intercourse and residence in favour of the inhabitants of the respective countries, did not extend to Loyalists exiled by Act of Attainder.

attitude of France towards the American goverment in retaliation for the signing of Jay's Treaty strengthened his hand in this matter. In 1798 a climax in Franco-American affairs occurred. This was just the opportunity Britain needed to improve her relations with the United States, and Liston was requested to spare no effort "to prove to the people of American that their interests when independent no less than their former bonds of connection, leads them to look to Great Britain as their most natural friend and support."[1] Owing to the defenseless state of the American coasts it seemed at the time as if a temporary alliance must take place between the two governments. In the informal talks between Liston and President Adams it was proposed that the British Navy should aid in the defense of the American coast, while the American goverment was to assist in the defense of Canada if it became necessary.[2] French intrigues in that province were giving the British government serious cause for alarm, and Liston was warned by Grenville "to watch it with the utmost diligence."[3] In the hurried preparations for defense Pickering approached Liston with a request from the Federal Government to purchase or borrow some guns then lying

1. F.O.5:22, to Liston, June 15,1798, England.

2. Ibid., to Liston, June 1798, England had ships but lacked seamen, America had seamen but lacked officers of experience and also warships - co-operation between them would provide strong naval defense of the American coastline.

3. F.O.5:22, to Liston June,1798.

idle at Halifax, where they had been taken by the British troops on the evacuation of Charleston in 1783. Only too willing to oblige in any matter that would cement the growing friendship between the two nations, Liston at once wrote to Wentworth to see if an arrangement could be reached concerning them.[1]

As a Loyalist, and descendant of an old New England family, Wentworth rejoiced at the possibility of a rupture between the United States and France, as he saw in it the means of promoting an alliance between the Americans and the mother country. Such a step would do much to obliterate the tragic consequences of the civil war which had split asunder the old colonial empire and left in its wake a train of hatred, ill-will and general misunderstanding between the two peoples. Wentworth was eager therefore, to co-operate with Liston. Through his influence Prince Edward agreed to sanction a temporary loan of the guns, and when the American frigates came to transport them he arranged to give the officers and men a very friendly reception.[2] During the course of the Prince's stay in Nova Scotia many prominent American merchants of republican principles passed through Halifax, and as Wentworth invited most of them to dine at

1. F.O.5:22, Liston to Grenville, June 12,1798,
   C.O.217:69,p.218,Liston to Wentworth, Oct.15,1798.

2. C.O.217:69,p.203, Wentworth to King, private, Sept.16,1798.

Government House he usually arranged that they should meet the Prince. At the charming little supper parties given by Lady Wentworth these visiting Americans would find their prejudice towards monarchy,particularly as personified by George III, dispelled by the gracious and condescending manner of the young Prince. On their departure they would carry away not only pleasant memories of a delightful visit but a changed attitude towards the British royalty.[1] In these and in countless other ways did the Governor seek to impart a spirit of good will between the two peoples. Perhaps no one wished more fervently for an Anglo-American reconciliation than Wentworth, whose love for his native land and affection for his former countrymen remained with him throughout life. Even during the course of the rebellion he had been able to clasp in friendship the hand of John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. It seems safe to assert that no other Loyalist could have carried out with such ease that quiet and friendly visit which he made to Adams and Franklin at Passy on the eve of the Franco-American Treaty of 1778. The underlying motive of that visit was without doubt political, despite Adam's assertion that the conversation was

1. C.O.217:66,p.171-175,Wentworth to King, May 26,1795.

merely upon trifles. The peace negotiations of 1778 towards conciliation failed, and the thirteen colonies became an independent nation deeply indebted to France. A pro-French sentiment naturally prevailed therefore among all Americans, and would have continued no doubt had not the increasing barbarity of the French Revolutionary methods alienated the strong Puritan element of New England. With the execution of Louis XVI a reaction set in. Some of the leading Federalists even went so far as to regard a breach with France as the only way in which the Union would be saved from anarchy, which they thought must inevitably follow the spread of French political ideas in America.

This anti-French attitude of the Federalists together with the Franco-American crisis made Grenville hopeful of effecting a treaty with the United States. The ostensible pretext was Britain's desire to protect her former colonies from French aggression, but the underlying motives were many and complex. While such an alliance would do much to counterbalance French expansion in Europe, it would also lessen the danger of French intrigue in Canada. Moreover, the growth of revolutionary doctrine in the French West Indies, particularly in the island

of St.Domingo, made it imperative to solicit the co-operation of the United States. By joint regulation of the traffic with this island, it would be possible to prevent the introduction of similar ideas among the slave population of Jamaica. Though the Americans likewise feared the effect of the servile revolt in St.Domingo on the slaves in the Southern States, yet in contrast to the British, their interests were commercial rather than political. The interests of both countries however in the West Indies and the Spanish Main, added to the international situation, seemed to point to the advisability of a temporary alliance between them.

Britain's efforts in this direction were hampered by the action of His Majesty's Frigates and Colonial Privateers in seizing American vessels engaged in trade with the enemy. In the discussions relating to the treaty, Secretary Pickering stressed the unfavourable effect they had on American public opinion and declared to Liston that

"the political mischief of such interuptions to our commerce are as much to be lamented as their direct injury to our merchant. They sour the minds of the people and keep up the

irritation against Great Britain, and by the divisions thereby occasioned promote the views of our common enemy."[1.]

In an effort to placate the American government and to remove all obstacles in the path of an Anglo-American alliance, Liston again appealed to Wentworth for co-operation. Through Wentworth's influence great care was exercised in the adjudication of American prizes brought into Halifax between the years 1798 to 1800. The deputy judges of the Halifax Prize Court was a Loyalist, James Brenton, who had been appointed deputy on the Governor's recommendation in 1798, when the age and infirmities of the acting Judge, Richard Bulkeley, prevented him from executing the duties of the office.

As the American Presidential election of 1799 drew near, the Democratic Party sought to discredit the pro-British Federalists by giving state-wide publicity to every case of impressment and seizure that came to their notice.[2.] This made Liston anxious that no action of the British should furnish the Democrats with additional campaign material. Unfortunately, a frigate operating from Halifax captured some American ships carrying contraband goods off New York harbour while the election

1. F.O.5:25A, Thomas Pickering to Liston, May 7, 1798.
2. Ibid, Liston to Grenville, Sept.30, 1799.

in that city was in progress. As a result, enough votes were diverted from the Federalists to give the Democrats a victory.[1.]

The ingenuity of American merchants in camouflaging contraband goods was well known in British Admiralty Courts. On the other hand it was popularly believed in the States, "that no degree of accuracy in a ship's papers, no possible evidence of the neutrality of the property can protect an American merchantman from seizure by British cruisers."[2.] In an effort to convince the American Government of the frauds committed by American subjects under cover of a neutral flag, Liston requested Wentworth to forward him a summary of the cases most adjudicated at Halifax. The preparation of this summary showed a wide divergence in Nova Scotia between the Attorney-General, Uniacke, and Judge Brenton over the interpretation of maritime law as it related to neutral property. Uniacke, who was also King's Advocate, had been given the task of preparing the brief. He appears, however, to have drawn up such a caustic stricture against the integrity of American merchants that in the interests of diplomacy Wentworth instructed Brenton to prepare another which Liston could present to Pickering without fear of

1. F.O.5:29A, Liston to Grenville, May 6,1800.

2. F.O.5:26A, Liston to Grenville, Dec.31,1799.

offending the American Cabinet.[1] Working in conjunction with Liston, the Governor realised the important role played by the Halifax Prize Court decisions in American politics. Knowing that a Federalist victory was advantageous to Britain, he used all his influence to procure "moderation and liberality" in the adjudication of American prizes. The political motives governing Wentworth's action appear to have escaped the notice of Uniacke or else for various reasons, he preferred to disregard them.

Uniacke was not alone in opposition to Wentworth's policy of conciliation. Admiral Parker on the Halifax station complained that much dissatisfaction existed among the naval men over Brenton's decisions, and protested to the home authorities against the release of American prizes. Both men strongly disliked Americans. In common with most of the officers in His Majesty's Navy, Parker held the young republic in contempt. On the other hand, Uniacke's attitude was more personal and is partially explained by his dislike and distrust of the Loyalist place seekers of Nova Scotia. Ambitious by nature, he had resented in 1786 the appointment of Samuel Salters Blowers, and

1. P.A.N.S.,53,p.148-153,Wentworth to Liston, Nov.11,1800.

American refugee, as Attorney General. According to the rules of precedence the appointment should have gone to him. In 1797 the office again became vacant, and it was only through the influence of political patrons in Ireland that he secured the promotion, as Wentworth had recommended another Loyalist for the post. Furthermore, his behaviour during the American Revolution had placed him under suspicion as a rebel. Though he had been freed from the charges brought against him, yet he may have felt that in being openly hostile to Americans he thereby silenced any rumours to the contrary, as the Loyalists were ever ready to make political capital out of the supposed republican tendencies of the old settlers. There was little love lost between Uniacke and the Loyalist group surrounding Government House, He was inclined to regard Brenton's decisions in the Prize Court as further evidence of that clannishness which appeared to him to be typical of Americans,and of Loyalists in particular.

According to an Instruction issued January 29th,1798, the Rule of 1756 had been modified to permit a trade between a neutral country and the enemy's colonies, whereby produce imported into the United States could be re-exported, even to the

mother country of the said colonies, without fear of seizure by the British. As the opinions of Brenton and Uniacke respecting the meaning of this Instruction "were diametrically opposite to each other" it led to confusion and petty strife among all those concerned in the trial and condemnation of prizes at Halifax.[1] The death of Judge Bulkeley gave Uniacke an opportunity to attack the patronage system of Wentworth. He convinced Parker that the Governor had assumed control of patronage which rightly belonged to the Admiral on the Station and advised him to suggest to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty "to exercise their own patronage and send a proper person from England."[2] Accordingly, Parker sent home a strong complaint against the confused state of affairs in the Halifax Prize Court, emphasising in particular Brenton's connection with the States. This was the second complaint lodged by Parker against the Halifax Prize Court. Only a month before this he had made an appeal on behalf of the captors and claimants against the exorbitant fees levied in that Court. Charges of exorbitant fees in the Admiralty Courts was a common complaint among the naval men of that period, and there is no doubt that the Prize Court officials reaped a

1. Ad.1:495,p.355, Parker to Nepean, Dec.19,1800.
2. Ibid.p.361, Parker to Nepean, Dec.20,1800.

golden harvest during these years. Whether the fees levied at Halifax were unusually large, it is difficult to state, as there was not any set standard with which to compare them. On this subject Uniacke is silent. As King's Advocate his fees appear to have equalled those of the presiding Judge. It has been said that during the war of 1812 he received as much as £50,000 from fees levied in the Halifax Prize Court,[1] which however, appears to be a somewhat over-exaggerated statement. It so happened that when Parker's complaints reached England His Majesty's Ministers had already determined to re-organise the colonial Prize Courts.[2] They were included however, in the general investigation at the time, and further convinced the home authorities of the urgent need for reform there.

As the laws effecting neutral property were so imperfectly understood in the colonies, especially in the West Indies, it was not unusual for the decisions of those courts to be at variance with the law that prevailed in the High Court of Admiralty in England.[3] Towards the close of the year 1800 the American Ambassador in London brought this to the attention of Lord Grenville, and at the same time made serious charges against the

1. Peter Lynch, "Early Reminiscences of Halifax" p.191. (Coll.of the Nova Scotian Historical Society, XVI, 1912).

2. Ad.1:4187, King to Hawkesbury, Apr.1,1801.

3. Ibid. Advocate-General to Portland, May 23,1801.

colonial courts on behalf of the American government. Grenville was both anxious and willing that a reform should take place in the Vice Admiralty Courts. At the time of Jay's Treaty he had advised placing the matter before parliament, as he feared there could be no hope of conciliating America unless the needed reforms were adapted.[1] His correspondence from 1796 to 1800 confirmed this opinion. Moreover, a crisis had again occurred in Anglo-American relations and though he was ready to redress grievances of the captors, it was the international situation which made reform imperative.[2] With the support of the Law Officers of the Crown and the consent of the Admiralty he succeeded in having a bill passed in 1801 which reduced the courts to three, extended their jurisdiction and considerably increased the judges' stipends. In accordance with the tenor of the act, Dr.Alexander Croke was sent out to Halifax to succeed the late Judge Bulkeley. Though the Halifax Court had escaped the odium attached to the Prize Courts of the West Indies through the conciliatory attitude of Judge Brenton towards American claimants, yet his appointment having come through Wentworth, it tended to lower the prestige of the office by exposing it to a tax from the Governor's

1. Dropmore Papers, Vol.22,533, Grenville to Portland, 1794.

2. F.O.5:29A, Liston to Grenville, Mar.7,1800, Britain was accused of stirring up the Creek War in Florida; A crisis had also occurred over the Debts question.

political enemies. In addition every adverse decision against the interests of the captors had been regarded by the naval men as evidence that Brenton, because of his American birth, was lacking in attachment to the Crown. The appointment of Dr.Croke placed the office above the petty politics of Nova Scotia and lent a dignity and weight to the proceedings of the Halifax Admiralty Court, which precluded any critical attacks on the grounds of partisanship or incompetency.

In his correspondence with Grenville, Liston did not mention that Brenton had been acting in accordance with the pacific policy suggested by him to Wentworth. Had he done so it would have counter-balanced the unfavourable report sent home by Parker, and secured some consideration to his appeal for a small compensation for his services as Deputy-Judge, which they dismissed curtly. In accordance with the regulation of the new prize act, Judge Croke was requested to report on the droits of Admiralty received by Wentworth, and send the same home as soon after his arrival as possible. An investigation by Croke showed that the Governor had not received any droits since the commencement ofthe war.[1] Since the commissions for privateers

1. Ad.1,3895, Croke to Nepean, Nov.18,1801.

were granted direct by Wentworth and not from the Admiralty Court, he had a monopoly of all fees charged in this connection, but as it had not been possible to discover the number issued nor the fees charged, it cannot be stated to what extent this affected his income.

With Uniacke as his legal adviser, Admiral Parker appears to have adopted the attorney-general's hostile attitude towards the Loyalist office holders in Nova Scotia. Having attacked Judge Brenton for his pro-American sentiments, he then sought to discredit the chief justice and forwarded home a complaint against the latter's conduct towards the navy.[1] Chief Justice Blowers, like Wentworth and Brenton, had held office under the old regime, and knew from experience the wisdom of sharply defining the jurisdiction of naval, military and civil authorities. He refused to tolerate any interference by His Majesty's Officers with the rights of the citizens in their passage to and from Halifax Harbour, and in a suit lodged against a captain of Parker's squadron gave the decision in favour of the civilians.[2] From the evidence at hand it seems to be the old story of colonials versus imperial forces. Wentworth, Blowers and other such leading

1. C.O.217:77,p.253, Parker to Navy Board, Dec.22,1801.

2. Ad.1.495,p.505-507,Statement of naval lieutenant at trial, July 29,1801.

Loyalists, steeped in the past history of New England, wished to prevent in Nova Scotia the growth of a hostile spirit towards the King's Forces which had been such a disturbing element in the relations between the older colonies and the mother country during the first British Empire. Uniacke, having arrived in America only a few years before the Revolution, lacked that colonial background which would have enabled him to discern the spirit guiding Blowers' decisions in cases of this nature. It seems safe to assert that in openly criticising his legal colleagues Uniacke did so more from a personal dilike and distrust of Americans than from any deep conviction that there had been a denial of justice. The attorney-general was in fact making use of every opportunity to strike at the patronage system of Wentworth. Only a few years back he had crossed swords with the Governor on provincial defense and unknown to himself had been accused by Wentworth in a fit of political frenzy,as being guilty of treason. By 1800,however, he had strengthened his position at the Colonial Office, and had himself reported home as "the only faithful servant of the Crown in the province."[1] In Uniacke Wentworth had a political

1. Ad.1:495, Parker to Nepean, Aug.8,1801.

enemy of a far different calibre than William Tonge, then branching forth as a reformer, and the Governor was wise enough not to under-estimate the genius of his opponent. In the home country, insinuations against the loyalty of the Judges could have carried little weight since they had given such a high testimony of their attachment to the Crown during the Revolution, and Parker's petitions divorced from the petty politics of Nova Scotia and judged on their own merit, would hardly have effected the appointment of an eminent legalist like Dr.Croke. It was owing more to the fact that during the French Revolutionary Wars the colonial admiralty courts played a more important role than formerly. Because of the great commercial expansion of the United States, and the desire to keep peace with America, it became necessary to raise the standard of those courts to a level with that of the high court of Admiralty in London. It seems safe to assume that therefore in the general investigation of the time, the interests of the navy were given a more careful consideration than they otherwise would have received.

When Liston was preparing to leave America in 1801, he wrote to Grenville making certain suggestions as to England's <u>future</u>

policy towards the United States. His efforts towards a rapprochement had come to nought, while the relations between the two countries had taken on a serious aspect because of the sudden termination of the Debts Commission at Philadelphia and the maritime policy of Britain. The reform of the Prize Courts had eased matters. In the interests of peace, he suggested that it would be best to waive the Loyalists' claims that debts confiscated by Acts of Attainder were included within the purview of Article 6 of Jay's Treaty, and that England should "consent to indemnify them herself rather than resolve on war," which he thought "must bring with it extensive damage to our navigation, the probable loss of Canada and the world behind it, the propagation of emnity and prejudice that it may be impossible to eradicate."[1] Though anti-British, the Democrats did not wish for war. By 1800 the majority of Americans regardless of party had come to support the principle of political isolation. Many feared that Britain still harboured a "secret wish to overthrow the independence of the United States," They therefore looked askance at any connection with her, temporary or permanent. Liston recommended that the wisest policy for Britain to pursue

1. F.O.5:5, 29A, Liston to Grenville, May 7, 1800.

in relation to the States "was a perseverance in the line of conduct.....adopted for the four last years."[1] So in Nova Scotia, Governor Wentworth continued to recommend the same conciliatory policy towards American prizes as he had done since 1796, never hesitating to administer strict and prompt justice particularly where privateers interupted legal traffic. On one occasion he not only secured damages for the injured party but revoked the commission of the privateer. His letter to the British Consul at Philadelphia was regarded by the directors of the American insurance company as such an interesting example of good will towards the United States, that they asked and received permission to print it with a resume of the case in the Philadelphia papers.[2]

Liston, and here one must include Wentworth, were building for the future. The interests of both countries in the American continent made it desirable to cultivate friendly relations. Liston foresaw the destiny of the United States and was not misled into believing that a democratic country such as it could not long survive. In his opinion war would only strengthen the fabric. Wentworth's attitude was part political

1. F.O.5:5,29A, Liston to Grenville, May 7, 1800.
2. C.O.217:79, Bond to Wentworth, May 7, 1804.

and part sentimental. He loved the land and was always ready to assist in any way towards reconciliation. Writing to Jeremy Belknap, the historian, he says, " The independence having been consented to .....I do most cordially wish the most extensive, great and permanent blessings to the United States, and of course, rejoice at the establishment of the Federal Constitution, as a probable means of their happiness. If there is anything partial in my heart on this case, it is that New Hampshire, my native country, may rise to be among the most brilliant members of the Confederation, as it was my zealous wish, ambition and unremitted endeavour to have led her among the provinces."[1] Such sentiments expressed to a man of Belknap's influence were seeds well sown. By drawing together the two nations in friendly relations, Wentworth believed that the future happiness and interests of both would be best served.

The Governor was also called upon during this period to assist in the settlement of the Maine-New Brunswick border. By Article 5 of Jay's Treaty both countries agreed to set up a commission to ascertain what river in this district was the river St.Croix, as intended by the Treaty of Peace in 1783.

1. Belknap Papers, op.cit.,p.499, Wentworth to Belknap, May 15, 1791.

It is significant that in selecting her commissioners Great Britain should choose Loyalists. His Majesty's Ministers recalled no doubt the severe criticism levelled at Lord Shelburne over the Canadian-American boundaries as determined by the Provisional Treaty of 1782. It had then been contended that had men familiar with the geography of the country been consulted on this subject, the valuable mast and fur trading districts would have been retained in the possession of Britain. Because of their local knowledge it was expected that the Loyalists'Commission of 1796 would satisfy public opinion both in the home country and the colonies.

As Surveyor-General of the Woods Wentworth was familiar with the country in dispute. Before the American Revolution he had conducted surveys between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, and was well acquainted with the claims and counter-claims of the Kennebec Proprietors and the government of Massachusetts. Immediately after the Peace of 1783 he had explored the mast country of Pasamaquoddy. Though he believed that Great Britain could extend her claim as far west as the Penobscot River, yet he limited his survey to the Scoodiac, and made all his

reservations on and east of that river. The Scoodiac was claimed by the home country as the true St.Croix. On the other hand, the Americans wished to extend their boundaries to the most easterly of the three rivers, which emptied into the Pasamaquoddy Bay. As early as 1784 Governor Hancock of Massachusetts had requested Governor Parr to remove the Loyalists settled in the disputed area.[1] The request had been ignored by Great Britain, but along with the problem of the North-West Frontier, it had constituted a source of grievance in Anglo-American relations and Wentworth spared no efforts in his search for evidence to prove the British claim to the Scoodiac. It is evident from Portland's correspondence that His Majesty's Ministers placed great faith in his ability to protect the King's interest in the country in dispute. Though an agreement was reached by the British and American Commissioners in 1798 as to the identity of the river St.Croix, it appears that the Americans still had cause for complaint over the boundary question, particularly as it related to the islands in the Bay of Pasamaquoddy. In the following year Wentworth was again requested to forward home his opinion on the subject,together with any further information he

1. Chatham Papers, 346, Hancock to Parr, Nov.12, 1784.

could collect. During these years the dispatches of His Majesty's Officers on this subject contain frequent references to the strategic importance of these islands, particularly Moose Island, which was inhabited by Americans and in time of war could serve as a naval base of operations against the neighbouring provinces.

Another source of irritation between the two countries was the impressment of sailors from the decks of American vessels. On the north Atlantic coast the impressments were conducted with the consideration and respect due to a friendly nation, but they were more frequent than in the West Indies, owing to the facility with which the British sailors could desert to the Americans. In order to protect their seafaring men the American Government issued certificates of citizenship, but here again so many frauds were practised by American notaries and American consuls that British naval officers became sceptical of their value and demanded that they be countersigned by the British Minister or Consul resident in America. In order to effect the release of American sailors, the British Consuls in the States would send Wentworth a list of the men

impressed and the Governor would take the matter up with the Admiral, sending him the certificates of American birth which were accompanied by affidavits from leading American citizens stating their authenticity.[1] In this way many sailors were released.

In 1807 Anglo-American relations were rudely disturbed by the famous Leopard-Chesapeake incident, which aroused such indignation in the States that President Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering British warships out of American waters and prohibited all intercourse with that nation. As the right to search did not include the right to search a foreign warship, Great Britain promptly wrote an apology to the American Government, but did not promise to give up impressment. With the Democratic Party in power and the insistence by England on the right to search there appeared every reason to expect war. Wentworth prepared therefore, for the inevitable. The militia were again assembled and his administration closed as it had opened amid preparations for war.

1. P.A.N.S., 54, p.50, Wentworth to Mitchell, Sept.10,1805.

# CHAPTER X.

## MAROONS.

In the summer of 1796 there arrived at Halifax six hundred Maroons, exiles from the Island of Jamaica. As transients they would not merit attention in a history of Nova Scotia had not their coming involved Governor Wentworth in a public scandal. In the broader field of imperial his tory, the expulsion of the Maroons is an interesting example of the native problem in imperial relations. Responsibility for the fate of these people ultimately rested on the shoulders ofthe mother country, but before the controversy over the settlement of them had ended, John Wentworth's character had been publicly slandered by the Assembly of Jamaica, and his name bandied about in the public houses and taverns of New England and the Maritime Provinces. In the home country petitions, memorials and anonymous letters were received by His Majesty's Ministers. These, together with private conferences with visiting colonials and their agents, provided

such conflicting accounts of the Maroon question, that it perplexed more than it enlightened the home authorities. It is pertinent to remark on the difficulties that sometimes faced the Secretary of State in forming a true conception of colonial opinion, or an exact account of affairs in the distant colonies. Party politics in the colony occasionally led to the writing of anonymous letterscriticising the local administration, while the colonial opposition usually had friends or patrons among the influential class in England who secured them audiences at the colonial office when they came to London. The home government therefore, was not wanting in information. Its problem was to sift the fact from the fiction.

At the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, the Maroons who then inhabited the island fled to the hills, and for over a century carried on guerilla warfare against the white inhabitants. In 1795 they rebelled and were only subdued by the strategy of using Cuban bloodhounds to force them out from their strongholds in the mountains. At the capitulation, General Walpole, the commanding officer, solemnly promised

the Maroons not to expel them from the island, if they surrendered up their arms. The Jamaican government refused to honour the agreement and shipped them to Nova Scotia, there to await the orders of the British government as to their future domicile.

At Halifax public opinion was strongly opposed to the landing of these warrior blacks,[1] but from motives of humanity and the subdued manner of the rebels on their arrival, Wentworth permitted their removal to temporary quarters on the outskirts of the town. In the home country, His Majesty's Ministers were equally perturbed when news reached them of the disposal of the Maroons in this manner. They did not object to their removal from the Island, but rather to the independent action of the Jamaican Government in sending to another colony a band of rebels without first having received the permission of the home government.[2] As the attempted settlement of these people in Nova Scotia eventually involved Wentworth in financial difficulties and almost led to his recall, a careful study had to be made of the correspondence of all parties concerned in this business. The questions that

1. C.O.140:89,p.239,Quarrell to Sewell, April 25,1797.

2. C.O.140:89,p.20,Portland to Sewell,March 30,1798;
C.O.218:27,No.17,Portland to Wentworth,June 13,1796.

had to be answered in so far as they related to Wentworth, were, did the Governor disobey or misunderstand his orders relative to the Maroons, and was he guilty of misappropriating the Maroon establishment funds

In keeping with the strong humanitarian sentiment then prevailing in England, and to quiet the criticism of the anti-slavery party, who had denounced the use of blood hounds in the Maroon War, Portland immediately instructed Wentworth "to omit nothing in your power which is not inconsistent with the safety of the inhabitants of the province, that can tend to the accommodation of the Maroons, by supplying them with provisions and every other necessary that can alleviate the distress of their unhappy situation."[1.]

This was followed shortly after by another dispatch commanding him to settle them in the province for the time being, in such a manner as not to alarm the citizens, and to enable the Maroons to support themselves. To meet the expenses connected with this service he was to draw on the Lords of the Treasury taking care to observe the "strictest economy" and to forward home proper vouchers with all bills drawn "in order that their

1. C.O.218:27,No.17,Portland to Wentworth,June 13,1796.

amount may be repaid by the Legislature of Jamaica."[1] At the same time Portland suggested that the best mode of providing for this service would be to have the Commissioner who accompanied the Maroons to draw on the account of Jamaica through its London agent.

For their part, the Jamaican Government through Governor Belcaros asked Wentworth to permit the Maroon transports to anchor at Halifax. He also suggested to Wantworth "that it would be a most fortunate and pleasing circumstance to the Island of Jamaica", if the Commissioner was permitted to purchase some lands in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick for the settlement of the Maroons. Should this be granted, Quarrell, the agent, had instructions to provide suitable clothing and implements and everything else necessary for their establishment.[2] The expense in this connection was to be met by a fund of £ 25,000 granted for this service. By this request the Jamaican government not only requested temporary shelter for the Maroons, but also a permanent settlement. Moreover, they did not raise any doubts at the time, as to whether the country would be suitable for a people accustomed to a tropical

1. C.O.217:67,p.112, Portland to Wentworth, July 15,1796.
2. C.O.217:67,p.118,Belcaros to Wentworth,June 3,1796.

climate. It remained for the Home Country to consider this important factor, and Wentworth was informed by Portland that permanency of their stay in Nova Scotia would depend on how far, by care and attention, they could be acclimatised.[1.]

After a consultation between the Governor and the Agents, it was agreed to settle the Maroons at Preston, a township not far from Halifax on the opposite side of the harbour. From Wentworth's point of view Preston had many advantages. It was near, but not too near, the town of Halifax, the only important market for labour and provisions in the colony. As the military were stationed there it prevented any protests being made by the Nova Scotians, who undoubtedly would have loudly complained had the Maroons been dispersed throughout the interior, an idea which had been suggested to the Agents by certain interests,[2.] as being more likely to lead to an early settlement of the Maroons, than if kept together in a community of their own. Another important motive in selecting this site was that it eliminated the expense and trouble that would have followed their transfer to more distant settlements. It also provided them with lands prepared for cultivation and

1. C.O.217:67,p.124,Portland to Wentworth,Sept.7,1796.
2. C.O.140:89,p.240,Tonge to Quarrell,July 10,1797.

a number of houses already built.

In his zeal to carry out the wishesof the home government relative to the disposal of these people, Wentworth gave the Agents, Ochterlony and Quarrell, every assistance possible. At the time they made no protest either to their own government or the home authorities against the plan of settlement proposed by Wentworth. Having agreed that the Maroons were to reside in Nova Scotia they were moved over to Preston and installed in their new homes before the advent of winter. The Maroons themselves seem to have been contented with the arrangement and Wentworth reported that they expressed a wish to remain in the province.[1] Their introduction to Nova Scotia had taken place during those months when the climate is most enjoyable. The winters were then regarded as unusually long and severely cold, but at the same time very healthy. Unfortunately, it so happened that the first winter the Maroons spent there proved to be the most severe since the founding of Halifax in 1749. When Spring came Wentworth learned that great dissatisfaction existed among them. One of the Agents, Ochterlony, having decided that the country would not do for the Maroons, had

1. C.O.217:67, Wentworth to Portland,Sept.20,1796.

secretly encouraged them to protest against their settlement.

During the long winter months Ochterlony had instilled in them the idea of petitioning for lands in some tropical country and of resisting any attempts to cultivate their farms at Preston. It was also discovered that during these months of idleness, he had encouraged them to continue in their old habits of cock-fighting, gaming and wild native dances.[1] Ochterlony himself was accused of keeping a "seraglio" at his residence "Maroon Hall".[2] The Maroons were polygamists, each man having about four wives. They were of a very independent nature, boastful of their freedom, and, having dwelt in the mountains of Jamaica, were a strong and virile people. Unlike the Red Indians of North America they were clean and neat in their persons, houses and clothing.[3] For generations their race had hunted the wild hog and engaged in guerrilla warfare. It was natural that they should prefer to return to their former mode of living than to adapt themselves to the pastoral pursuits of their white neighbou Habits of industry and peacefulness had no charm for these children of nature, and despite every attempt made by the Governor and all those connected with the establishment, it was

1. C.O.217:69,p.107.Oxley to Wentworth,June 16,1798. Oxley came with the Maroons from Jamaica as their Surgeon.

2. C.O.217:69,p.133.Chamberlain to Wentworth,June20,1798. Chamberlain had been appointed schoolmaster to the Maroons by Wentworth.

3. C.O.217:67, Wentworth to Portland, Sept.20,1796.

impossible to reconcile them to Nova Scotia. Cchterlony was dismissed, but his successor, Captain Howe, chosen because of his acquaintance with these people, made little headway.

It is important to note here that Wentworth had taken care to inform Portland of the changed attitude of the Maroons and the part played by Octerlony. He said that some had suffered severely from frost bite and a few had died, but in general they had come through the first winter fairly well. He also reported that he had prevailed on them to spend another winter in Nova Scotia, at the same time having given them a promise to place their case before His Majesty's Ministers if they persisted in their dislike of the climate.[1] Wentworth himself had not altered his original opinion that the Maroons could be settled in Nova Scotia. As proof in point, he claimed that the grievances of the Loyalist negroes who had been demobilised there in 1783, had been economic not climatic. In this view he was not alone. It was claimed that the root of the trouble in that case had been the poor organisation of their affairs by the Loyalist Agents entrusted with their settlement, and their inability to adjust themselves to a new mode of living.[2] As slaves

1. C.O.217:68,No.45. Wentworth to Portland, June 2,1797.

2. Ibid.,p.164. Capt.Howe to Quarroll, Aug.9,1797;
P.A.N.S.p.351,Wentworth to Portland,Oct.29,1796.

they had been under the care of a master. In Nova Scotia they were left to fend for themselves. The experiences of the civil war and the grant of freedom had unsettled them. On being transported to Africa, where everything, including the climate,was favourable to their settlement, they proved to be a very trying problem t the Sierra Leone Company.

Taking Wentworth's report as the basis for his decision, Portland informed the Governor that he must rid the Maroons of any idea of a removal from the province, and exhort them to carry out their duties if they wished to be worthy of the King's benevolence. The hope that the Maroons would reform under the management of Captain Howe proved futile. It was not until Wentworth gave them into the keeping of a certain Chamberlain, formerly a teacher among the Indians,that they could be induced to work on their farms.[1] By this time two years had passed since their arrival in the province. Whether Chamberlain would have been successful in civilising the Maroons is a matter of conjecture. They were a strong and hardy race, and a small group among them had a own an inclination to farm and to adjust themselves to their new life. By 1800 it was evident that the

1. C.O.217:70,p.155. The following excerpt from the copy book of the Maroon School is an interesting example of the old schoolmasters/indirect methods of training these children of the tropics,"Idleness and sloth,like Vultures eat up our health; for if we look back upon the lives of our forefathers,we shall find that their vigour was owing to their exercise, industry and activity".

experiment could be continued no longer. On the advice of John Butler, a prominent Halifax merchant, who had conveyed the Maroon accounts to London for Wentworth, the home authorities decided to negotiate with the Sierra Leone Company to settle the Maroons in their colony. When asked for his opinion on the subject Butler had not minced matters. In a memo drawn up for the information of the Duke of Portland, the writer(presumably John King, the Under-Secretary),stated that he was "staggered by the accounts given of those people by Mr.Butler.....a personal friend of Sir John Wentworth. He is so clear that Governor Wentworth has got into difficulties with those Maroons so as to hav e his understanding warped by personal considerations, and to decide against his better judgment. In short, Mr.Butler is so positive that they will never settle in Nova Scotia, that the sooner they are removed the sooner, I am sure, will there be an end to the heavy expenses incurred on their account." He suggested therefore that the matter be placed before Mr.Pitt as soon as possible.[1]

Butler's report on the Maroons had been the culminating point in a long series of petitions, memorials and anonymous

1. C.O.217:70,p.220,Unsigned Memo to Portland,Feb.21,1799.

letters sent to His Majesty's Ministers.[1] As the Colonial Office did not lack unfavourable representations of the Maroon colony in Nova Scotia, it seemed difficult at first to understand why His Majesty's Ministers should be surprised at Butler's report. Because certain petitions had been proved to be false, complaints from this quarter had not carried much weight. Only a month before this, January 1799, Portland had discussed the matter with Samuel Thornton. Owing to the "suspicious circumstances" which had attended a paper presented to Parliament in the past session, he was inclined to doubt the genuiness of the petition then received by Thornton. He had come to the decision that

> "if the Maroons had any well grounded complaints of any kind to make.....the direct and obvious channel for them to pass through was that of the Lieutenant Governor, who would not have hesitated in transmitting them whatever might have been the observations with which he might have thought it his duty to accompany them."

He concluded by declaring his faith in Wentworth, "who is as incapable of concealing, as he is of knowingly misrepresenting

1. C.O.217L69,p.18-23,Petition of the Maroons to Portland, Nov.4,1797.
   Ibid, p.8,Hon.G.Walpole to Portland,July 1797.
   Ibid, p.235,Portland to Walpole, Mar.20,1798.

any fact, which it is his duty to make me acquainted with."[1.]

Such sentiments explain the consternation of the Ministers when they heard from an authority like Butler the true state of affairs at Preston. A careful examination of Wentworth's letters reveals that he had not failed to inform Portland of the changing attitude of the Maroons, nor the difficulties encountered in settling these people. He was guilty, however, of sandwiching in with the unpleasant aspects of the business bright visions of the civilising effects Nova Scotia would have on these black banditti. He had convinced Portland that Preston was an ideal place for them. There they could do no harm, and at the same time would gradually adapt themselves to the life around them. That is why Portland disregarded their early complaints relative to the climate, and decided that they must give up all idea of removal. It is evident that Wentworth was anxious to keep the Maroons in Nova Scotia. His motives may have been purely altruistic or otherwise, but whatever emotions actuated him, his plan never had a fair test. Too many factors worked against its success.

From the outset this undertaking had been marked by a

1. C.O.217:70,p.215.Portland to Samuel Thornton,Jan 4,1799.

certain lack of organisation, which alone would have made it possible. On the part of Jamaica there was the sudden determination to transport the Maroons to NovaScotia, and to suggest their settlement there, without any consideration as to the wishes of the mother country of the colony of Nova Scotia. Again, though a fund of £125,000 was granted by the Jamaican government to assist in the settlement of these people, no arrangement had been made with their London agent to honour the cheques forwarded from Halifax. This greatly lowered the credit of the Jamaica government not only in Nova Scotia but also in New England, where Wentworth had arranged with the British Consul at Boston(McDonough, his former secretary when Governor of New Hampshire)to negotiate the bills for the Maroons' Agents.[1.]

Thirdly, the decision to recall their Agent, Quarrell, without first notifying the Secretary of State and without appointing a successor, was unwise. There again the Jamaica government had acted independently. It must be remarked that throughout the entire management of this business the Jamaica Assembly appears to have been actuated by a desire to be rid of the Maroons with as little trouble to themselves as possible. Beyond the first

1. P.A.N.S.,52,p.117,Wantworth to Belcarres, Sept.20,1797.

gesture of assistance in the initial grant, it would seem that they cared not who was burdened with them, as long as Jamaica was free from the worry of insurrection. Quarrell, detained in Halifax by his creditors, found himself in a very awkward position. After an appeal to Wentworth, it was finally arranged that the Governor would endorse Quarrell's bills on the strength of his original instructions from the Duke of Portland.[1] Wentworth also arranged with a local merchant to advance the Agent sufficient money to defray his current expenses and passage home. Furthermore, he even suggested to Portland, that as Quarrell was ambitious for a seat in the Council of Jamaica, it would be a fitting reward for his services[2] The request was granted. In contrast to these good offices Quarrell was secretly working against Wentworth. When the Agent discovered that the settlement of the Maroons was to be a more lengthy and difficult business than at first anticipated, he at once began to shift the responsibility for the muddle on to the shoulders of John Wentworth.

On the basis of Quarrell's reports, the Jamaican government had resloved not to be responsible for the maintenance of the

1. P.A.N.S.,52,p.109, Wentworth to Quarrell, Sept.10,1797.
2. C.O.218:27,Portland to Wentworth, Dec.14,1796.

Maroons after June 1798, and had set a limit to the sum to be so expended. They claimed to have granted £41,000 for this service,[1] but as it was months before Quarrell's bills were paid, it is difficult to conclude that they were remitted in full. After an examination of their Agents, the Jamaica Assembly drew up a report, in which Wentworth was sharply censured for his superintendence of the Maroon affairs. From the moment, they said, that Wentworth had received instructions to keep the Maroons in Nova Scotia and to provide them with every comfort, "he looked upon them as a people entitled to great favour, and thought himself authorized to require from the agents..... the expenditure of large sums of money."[2] Such had not been the intention of the Jamaica government towards these transported rebels. They regretted that any orders should have been so misunderstood as to incurr such great expense, as had been done in the settlement of the Maroons. They came to the conclusion therefore, that no additional grants should be made for this service.

Whatever justification the Assembly of Jamaica may have had in thus openly critisising the Governor of a sister colony, it

1. C.O.140:89, Journal of the Jamaica Assembly,p.88,Dec,21,1797.
2. Ibid, p.230, Committee Report on the Maroons.

cannot be excused for condoning the behaviour of the Agent, Ochterlony. The malicious attacks of this man against the good character of Wentworth, and his intrigues with the Maroons, were quietly passed over. He was exonerated from the charges against him and his evidence, unusual as it was probably untrue, was allowed to be printed in the Assembly Journal. Refuting the accusation that he had kept a "seraglio" in Nova Scotia, Ochterlony declared, that his employment of Maroon girls had been necessitated by the lack of white servants. "However," he said, "I was not singular in this, for Sir John Wentworth had two girls and Lady Wentworth two men."[1.]

This is an example of the scurrilous remarks circulated at the time. In the small province of Nova Scotia the advent of the Maroons had provided novelty if not profit, and perhaps most exciting of all, a public scandal. Men like William Cottnam Tonge, disappointed in the Governor's refusal to allow them drafts of the Maroons as indentured servants for their estates, took upon themselves to write anonymous letters denouncing Wentworth.[2.] In these letters he was accused of using the Maroon funds to benefit himself, his numerous dependents and

1. C.O.140:89,Assembly Journal,Jamaica,p.242, Examination of Ochterlony before the Assembly.

2. C.O.217:69,p.29,Portland to Wentworth, Apr.4,1798.Enclosure of anonymous letter.

the small group surrounding Government House. The Maroon establishment was criticised as being on too large a scale and with an eye to finding posts for the Governor's poor relations and Loyalist acquaintances. The critics regarded the appointment of a clergyman and a schoolmaster as sinecures, and not important civilising agents such as Wentworth had in mind. Here it may be remarked, that it was characteristic of Wentworth to organise every undertaking on a large scale. From youth accustomed to wealth, he was never able to adjust his mode of living to the standard of provincial merchants and farmers. What to them might seem undue extravagance, to him was necessary and proper. Keeping in mind his instructions and wishing to co-operate with the Jamaican government, he attempted, according to his conception of such an undertaking, to introduce these people to a settled mode of life.[1] In conducting this business, as would the contemporary philanthropist of England, Wentworth laid himself open to criticism from all quarters.

With so much deception, jealousy and intrigue, it is difficult to arrive at any clear cut decision as to what degree of censure Wentworth merited in the mismanagement of the Maroon

1. C.O.217:70,p.110,Michael Wallace's Deposition, July 15,1799.

establishment. As to the comfort and well being of the Maroons, it is certain he had not disobeyed his instructions in this respect. He had however, greatly erred in judgment. Many of his advisers had been opposed to the disposal ofthe Maroons in Nova Scotia, as they feared they might become a public burden. As one of them later remarked in defense of Wentworth's character,

that if Sir John Wentworth's unbounded...zeal...to serve his King...prompted him to stretch out his hand...to relieve Jamaica in the hour of her difficulties and in doing so has committed an error in estimating the justice and liberality of others by the dictates of his own mind, and thereby neglecting... the precaution of making specific conditions with Mr.Quarrell.... for the expenses and all consequences that might ensue, before he permitted the Maroons to be landed.....The deponent could not suppose therefore, that when a conduct so friendly and disinterested is made known to the Island of Jamaica, that they would not hesitate to exonerate him and censure those attempting to injure his public character. It had been this fatal policy of interpreting

too literally his instructions from Portland and of expecting from Jamaica a larger measure of justice than she was prepared to give, that had been partly responsible for his financial difficulties. From a knowledge of Wentworth's character it it difficult to believe that he deliberately planned to appropriate any of the Maroon funds to himself. If he was guilty of embezzlement it was not premeditated, as the Agents insinuated. According to instructions he had liberty to draw on the Treasury for this service. This he was practically forced to do from the outset. Whether it was owing to the Bank Crisis in London at this time, or carelessness on the part of the Jamaican government, certain it is that there was no fund provided to take care of the Maroons. When the Agents left Nova Scotia, Wentworth had to draw bills on His Majesty's government to provision them. From then,July 1797, until their departure in 1800, the chief worry at Whitehall appears to have been who was going to pay the piper. With the rising costs of the establishment, calm consideration of the nature of the undertaking was lost sight of, and the relations between the mother country and Jamaica grew tense in the disputes over

pounds, shillings and pence.

When it was realised at the Colonial Office that Jamaica intended to renounce her responsibility towards the Maroons, and that their settlement in NovaScotia would be attended by great expense and perhaps involve the two colonies in dispute, it was decided to bring the business to a close. With the decision to transport them to Africa, Portland, on the report from the Auditors, felt it his public duty to conduct an investigation into Wentworth's accounts.[1] As there was evidence that some of the accounts had been falsified, he decided to suspend Wentworth's salaries until he could satisfy the Imperial Auditors by producing vouchers that would explain the bills drawn.[2] Since the Maroons had come to Nova Scotia, Portland had cautioned Wentworth to remit proper vouchers with all bills drawn. With each dispatch he became more and more insistent on this matter. Wentworth however, continued to disregard this advice until Portland, convinced that he had misappropriated public money informed him that he contemplated his recall. Portland had known Wentworth for many years, and there is no doubt that he was reluctant to take such drastic

1. C.O.217:70,p.8,Copy of Observations on the Accounts transmitted by H.G.Wentworth relative to the Maroon expenses.

2. C.O.218:27,p.360,Portland to Wentworth,Nov.2,1801. Personal charges against him until proved to be for government services.

action. Writing to the Governor on the subject he informed him that unless he had an immediate response to this last request, "I shall feel it my duty how painful so ever it may be to my personal feelings, to submit to the King your being immediately recalled from your government."[1]

For years Wentworth had been apologising for the delay connected with the transmission of his accounts. In addition to those relating to the Maroons, there was great confusion in his returns for the defense services. There was also the disbursements for the Indian Relief, and the pay lists relating to the office of Surveyor General of the Woods. To expect a clear and accurate account for these various services from a Governor of the Old School would be contrary to the casual manner in which public business was then handled. That a new era in public financial administration had come is evident from the exhaustive research carried out by the Auditors General into Wentworth's statements.

While the Auditors were attempting to balance out Wentworth's accounts, rumours were rife in Nova Scotia that he was to be transferred to the West Indies. It is evident that this was

1. C.O.218:27,p.300, Portland to Wentworth,Mar.21,1801.

in contemplation at the Colonial Office. However, Sir John had much in his favour. Since youth he had been in the service of the government, and his record was such as to entitle him to every consideration. Furthermore, the progress and harmony that existed within his province must have caused His Majesty's Ministers to hesitate before disturbing an arrangement so pleasing to all concerned. It would seem that the influence of noble patrons was the deciding factor.[1] During the past six years Wentworth had been host to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent. An indication that Sir John and his lady had found favour with the Royal Family is evident from the attitude of Queen Charlotte when Lady Wentworth was presented at Court. So struck was the Queen by her beauty, grace and charm that she appointed her a Lady-in-Waiting, with a yearly pension of £500 and the special privilege of residing abroad.[2]

The Wentworths also enjoyed the friendship of the Duke of Clarence, while ever ready to further their interests was the head of the great Wentworth family, the Earl of Fitzwilliam. Faithful service and noble patrons were not the only influences working on Wentworth's behalf. In Nova Scotia there was deep

1. C.O.217:77,p.261-264,Edward,Duke of Kent,to John Sullivan, January 24,1802:

   Ibid,p.269,Sullivan to the Duke of Kent, Jan.27,1802. This letter states that Lord Hobart,in recognition of the favourable opinion entertained of Wentworth by His Royal Highness,and in consideration of Wentworth's long service,"shall not have occasion to mention his name to His Majesty otherwise than for His Majesty's approbation".

2. Murdock, Op.Cit.Vol.3.p.17.

regret at the expected removal of Sir John, and as an appreciation of their affection for him, the people, through the Assembly, petitioned the King to retain him in that government. Though the King had anticipated their wishes in the matter, yet the provincial agent considered that a document so "extremely honourable to Sir John Wentworth's conduct and character", and so expressive of good will to His Majesty's government, should be presented to the King.[1] In the address, the province attributes much of its recent prosperity to Wentworth's ability and experience in colonial government, and states that his "firm, mild and disinterested administration has rendered his stay amongst us an object of extreme solicitude."[2]

Throughout these trying days Wentworth bore the humiliations attendant on such circumstances with dignity, and an optimism worthy of a younger man. In answer to a friendly query concerning the uncertainty of his recall, he remarked, "near thirty years of public service has learned me the lesson of submission to superiors, and the few years of life naturally remaining to me do not justify of themselves any great offorts respecting myself. Although the reciprocal affections and

1. C.O.217:77,p.351,Bernard to Hobart,May 10,1802.

2. Ibid,p.355-358,Address of the House of Assembly N.S., to H.M. The King, Nov.23,1802.

kindness subsisting between me and this people have created much attachment, as I cannot remove from them without more unfeigned regret than the wealth of every Jamaican would compensate to me....Old men do not kindly transplant more than old trees....Nevertheless, in this forest of Life and Politics sometimes must both take their chance, whatsoever fruit they may have borne."[1] Here is the calmness of old age slightly tinged with that stoic attitude, which comes to those who have known great changes in the course of their lives.

Wentworth was deeply affected by this demonstration of loyalty and affection towards him. Between him and the people of Nova Scotia there was a stronger bond than that resulting from a wise administration. Coming as he did from a noted New England family his very name carried weight and prestige among them. The Loyalists looked upon him as one of their old leaders, who, having given them his patronage and favour, deserved their alliance in this time of crisis. Among the Old Settlers he also had many friends. In a sense Wentworth was also a Settler. He was of the people he governed, and

1. P.A.H.S.,53, Wentworth to Glenie, Oct.19,1801.

like his subjects had come to think of Nova Scotia as home and to take a pride in its development. Here was the difference between him and the usual type of governor sent out from England. From a political point of view such a vote of confidence as that expressed by the Assembly, is indicative of the Governor's influence in the Legislature. It is true that the estrangement between Sir John and the Colonial Office had not come within the preview of the Nova Scotia Assembly. The problem had been purely imperial. It had however, aroused the loyal instincts of the Nova Scotians to defend their Governor against the attacks of the Jamaica Assembly who not once in the course of the discussions had rendered a vote of thanks to the province for giving shelter to the Maroons.

In the last analysis it cannot definitely be stated that Wentworth had misappropriated the public funds. Having lifted the ban against his salaries, His Majesty's Ministers appear not to have demanded an account of the investigation conducted by the Auditors. The evidence at hand indicates that he was guilty to some extent in the Maroon accounts while more so in the other public services.[1] When his salaries of £2500

1. C.O.218:27,Nos.41,42,45,52,55, Letters of Portland to Wentworth, Jan21,1799 to Mar.2,1801, re the confused state of the accounts.

are considered in relation to the lavish scale of living in which he indulged, one is forced to conclude, that having little, if any, private income, the Governor must have met his liabilities with profits realised on public transactions. This is the second time during his career as a colonial administrat- or that he was faced with disgrace and recall. The circumstance differ in many ways, but when all the evidence is sifted and weighed the underlying course of these unfortunate embarrass- ments must be traced to his extravagant mode of living. During the years immediately following the Revolution he had lived quietly in a country villa near Halifax, but on his appointment as Governor in 1792 he gradually returned to his former standard of living. Lady Wentworth enjoyed society as much, if not more, than he did. During the residence of the Duke of Kent the entertainments at Government House and the Lodge(Prince Lodge as it is still called) were carried out on a scale be- fitting the son of the reigning sovereign. It is not surprising therefore, that Wentworth found himself in a maze of financial difficulties, from which he was only extricated by the powerful intercession of the Prince and his family.

Viewing the Maroon fiasco without the blurrings of petty intrigue and public peculation, there is revealed a partial glimpse of the cross currents then disturbing Anglo-Jamaican relations on slavery and defense. In England, Wilberforce and his followers were carrying on a crusade against the slave trade, and mobilising public opinion to rise to the protection of the black race. The employment of the Spanish hounds and the expulsion of the Maroons to a cold country like Nova Scotia had brought protests from the AbolitionistsParty that were only quieted when Dundas presented Wentworth's letters in Parliament that government had done everything possible for their comfort. The Clapham Sect which stood ready to see that justice was given to these exiles, had its following in New England and the Maritime Provinces. This explains why men, who knew Wentworth to be a good friend to the black man, had considered it their duty nevertheless, to advise the transfer of the Maroons to Africa, as a country more suited to their temperament and more donducive to their happiness.

In the West Indies, as one critic of the Maroon expulsion

put it, "The Spirit of Complexion Party is perhaps even more violent than that of Religious Party ever was in Europe." To him the removal of the Maroons to Halifax was "little short of national murder". On the other hand, though the attitude of the Jamaica government on this question is deserving of censure on many points, yet certain extenuating influences cannot be entirely disregarded. Troubled as that colony was by constant fear of insurrection, and having been put to expense and inconvenience in subduing the Maroons, it could not be expected to display the same sentiments towards these people, as would countries undisturbed by the slave problem. Aggravating as was the abolitionist movement to the Planters, other factors tended to disturb the harmonious relations between Jamaica and the Mother Country. Coinciding with the Maroon War was the Home Government's decision to employ negro regiments in the West Indies. To avert this, Jamaica had agreed to support an army of white soldiers(about 2000 troops). Furthermore, Jamaica's plea to the imperial government for financial assistance to cover property and other losses incurred during the Maroon War had not been granted. When,

1. C.O.217:67,p.228.William Scott to Portland,Sept.8,1706.

therefore, His Majesty's Ministers insisted that Jamaica must assume the full responsibility(within reason) for their maintenance in Nova Scotia, Jamaica refused. Thus does this particular financial problem furnish yet another interesting example of the conflicting opinions of mother country and colony at this time on the question of colonial defense.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE FAMILY COMPACT.

Just when the Maroon scandal was moving to its climax, a general election was held in Nova Scotia. Both events coinciding as they did brought to the fore an opposition to the administration party formed by Wentworth since his appointment in 1792. During the past seven years, the Governor's reports contained frequent references to the harmony and good order prevailing in the general assembly and the spirit of loyalty that characterised the Nova Scotians in general. As the legislature were anxious to reduce the public debt, the absence of party spirit is not surprising. With an empty treasury there was little cause for dissension in the appropriation of the provincial revenues, the usual source of friction between the two houses. Furthermore, the distractions of the war and the pleasing prospect of economic progress prevented too close attention to party politics. There was also the important factor of having a new governor whose appointment in the words

of an unbiased colonist "gives general satisfaction."

Twice during the interim between the general elections of 1792 and 1799, Wentworth had felt the political emnity of two leading assemblymen. To Richard John Uniacke he ascribed the anonymous letter that led to a Parliamentary inquiry on the defense of Halifax, while to William Cottnam Tonge he attributed the letter sent to Portland denouncing his administration of the Maroon settlement. As his efforts to discredit Uniacke at the Home Office came to nought, he was forced to accept his promotion as attorney general, and in 1797 a truce was declared in this quarrel. Uniacke however, continued to follow an independent course but inclined to a moderate view in all questions relating to rights and privileges. On the other hand, Tonge openly declared war on the administration party, particularly the confidants and advisers of the Governor, Michael Wallace and Lawrence Hartshorne. During the second half of his administration therefore, Wentworth's reports are in striking contrast to those of the early years of his regime. No longer are the sessions marked by calm discussions on problems of economic interest, but with each passing year the conflict between the two houses on

constitutional questions gives to the debates something of the spirit of old New England. Widening the breach and accentuating these differing views is the clash of personalities, Tonge versus Wallace, pre-Loyalists versus Loyalists. As the King's representative Wentworth was determined to keep the peace between the two houses, but not at the price of the royal prerogative.

In contrast to his administration in New Hampshire, there was no salary problem to disturb his relations with the assembly of Nova Scotia, consequently his position in 1792 was much stronger than it had been in 1767. Not only was there a permanent civil list provided by Parliament, but he enjoyed also an almost unlimited control over provincial patronage. On coming into office he immediately began to build up a strong political following. Providence favoured his plans. Throughout his regime the administration in England was controlled by his Tory patrons. In Nova Scotia the incumbents conveniently died. To follow the course of his appointments is interesting but far too detailed for the present study. As members died or absented themselves from the Council, the vacancies were at once filled by his appointees, and the men chosen usually

resided at Halifax and were of the official and merchant classes. Occasionally, a prominent county man would be appointed, but as a rule those residing in the capital were preferred primarily to ensure a quorum. His appointments were not confined to the Council. They extended to every department of government. A few are of particular interest in that they show his favouritism to relatives and friends. On the death of the provincial treasurer Wentworth solicited the appointment for his brother-in-law, Benning Wentworth. This was granted "with great pleasure" by Dundas.[1] Three years later J.Freke Bulkeley, the secretary of the province died. The number of offices he filled is illuminating on the state of the civil service of the eighteenth century. In addition to being secretary for the province, Bulkeley had also been clerk of the council, registrar of the court of escheats, marshal provost of the court of Vice Admiralty, and secretary to the garrison at Annapolis. Such a windfall was unusual, the disposal of the offices was more so. Prior to this Wentworth had appointed Benning Wentworth treasurer He now conferred on him four of the posts left vacant by Bulkeley's death, while the fifth, provost marshal, went to an

1. C.O.218:27,No.16,Dundas to Wentworth, Feb.14,1794.

intimate friend, James Putnam. As Benning could not hold two important offices such as treasurer and secretary, the treasury went to Michael Wallace,[1] a loyalist merchant who had settled at Halifax since the close of the Revolution. Wentworth was impressed by the business acumen of the man and since coming into office had placed various government contracts with his firm. Wallace was also a member of the Assembly.

In making these recommendations Wentworth stressed the need for harmony and co-operation between these officers and the governor, particularly at the time when the "levelling spirit" was ever ready to create dissension in the government. Many examples of the gradual decline of the royal power through the independent appointment of colonial officers by the Secretary of State may be found in the pre-revolutionary history of the American colonies. If Wentworth was to have a strong and efficient administration it was necessary that he should be free to exercise his appointing power. His Majesty's Ministers appreciated the influence of the Governor's patronage, and in allowing Wentworth free rein in the selection of his officers, they were not solely influenced by favour. During that era of

1. C.O.217:68,No.35, Wentworth to Portland, Nov.16,1796.

universal change and with the shadow of the American Revolution still upon them, their policy was to "strengthen the executive" throughout the British dominions. They were aware that the Governor could abuse the power thus granted to him. This is evident from their attitude towards certain legal appointments at this time. By the transfer of Chief Justice Strange to India, a number of promotions were possible in the legal department of Nova Scotia. Wentworth recommended two Loyalists, Attorney General Blowers for the post of Chief Justice and Jonathan Sterns, a solicitor at Halifax, for that of Attorney General. The rightful claims of Solicitor General Uniacke were ignored. Wentworth's nominations had been endorsed by Strange who in a previous discussion on the subject had disapproved Uniacke's promotion. King, the Under-Secretary was an intimate friend of both Wentworth and Strange, and furthered their views whenever possible. On this occasion however, the Duke of Portland exercised his own judgment and proceded to give Wentworth a lesson in the art of government. In a tactful but emphatic manner, he informed him that the order of succession must be preserved in order "to animate the exertions and industry

of rising genius." According to the views that prevailed in England, he said the embarrassing situation in which Uniacke would be placed by this action would force him to resign. Furthermore, he would probably feel compelled to give up his practice at the bar. Portland closed this letter by observing "your natural disposition and the whole tenor of your conduct forbid my supposing that you can ever have seen this measure in the light in which it appears to me, and in which it would strike every professional and political man in this kingdom. I have not a doubt of your willingly and even thankfully adopting this suggestion, and that I shall receive from you such an arrangement as you may assure yourself is expected, and will be immediately approved by His Majesty." Portland then concludes with the hope that Wentworth would accept such confidential communication as proof of the regard and esteem of "your faithful friend."[1.]

It is evident that a memorial from Uniacke followed by a recommendation from the Earl of Shannon had caused Portland to give the matter more serious consideration than it otherwise would have received.[2.] Portland himself states that he had come

1. C.O.217:68,p.140-148,Draft to Wentworth,July 13,1797.
   Ibid,p.242,Uniacke to Portland,June 3,1797.

2. C.O.217:81,p.659,Portland to Shannon, July 19,1797.

to this decision before receiving Shannon's letter.[1] It is possible that he did. In making an appointment to such a high office he probably examined more carefully than was usual the nominations sent in by the Governor.

In his reply to Portland,Wentworth declared that he was so impressed with the Duke's goodness to him on this oacasion that he could not adequately express his gratitude for the favours shown. Thanks indeed were due. Though Uniacke received the appointment as attorney general, both Blowers and Sterns were promoted, Blowers to become Chief Justice and Sterns to succeed Uniacke. On receipt of Portland's letter Wentworth was quick to realize that Uniacke's influence with Shannon and other leading personages of Ireland could not be ignored. Henceforth, though the relations between these two men were never cordial, on Wentworth's part there was dignified acceptance of the inevitable. There was one or two other instances in which the Secretary of State exercised the appointing power independent of Wentworth. On one occasion the Governor did everything possible to avoid accepting the mandamus presented by the appointee, Butler.[2] In the end he had to acquiesce and

1. C.O.217:81,p.659,Portland to Shannon,July 19,1797

2. C.O.217:78,p.511-514, Butler to Sullivan,Oct.13,1803, P.A.N.S.,53,p.45, Wentworth to Hobart, Oct.14,1803.

Butler took his seat in the Council much to the annoyance of Lawrence Hartshorne, another intimate of the Governor. Rather than give precedence to Butler, Hartshorne resigned, as did the Governor's only son, Charles Mary Wentworth. The appointment of Wentworth's son to the Council, where already were his cousin, his brother-in-law and three intimate friends, was the climax in the steady movement towards Loyalist control over the executive branch of the government. In the Colonial Office very little notice was taken of these petty disputes over colonial precedence, though occasionally His Majesty's Ministers did support them in their pretensions. The checks administered by the appointment of Butler and Uniacke bear no comparison to the favours granted, but they served to remind Wentworth that the Secretary of State had not entirely resigned the appointing power into his keeping. Furthermore, they gave the minority group a faint hope that promotion was possible independent of the Governor's favour. Perhaps the most beneficial effect of such independent appointments was that they acted as a check to arbitrary rule by the Governor and his party.

Free to dispose of places as he deemed proper, within a

few years Wentworth had formed a party allied by ties of blood and friendship. With such a strong following the Governor was now prepared to enforce "government by royal grace and favour" as he had not been able to do in New Hampshire. Constitutional questions however which in the older colonies had only been settled by schism from the Empire could not remain unsolved in the remaining provinces. By introducing the family compact government into Nova Scotia Wentworth provided the progressive irritant in the struggle for Responsible Government.

The political structure of Nova Scotia was established in the early years of the 18th century. The province did not possess any written constitution such as a royal charter, nor had any parliamentary act been passed which defined the powers of the various branches. It was in fact a royal province and its constitution is found in the royal instructions issued to the various governors since the Capitulation in 1710, when French rule came to an end in Acadia. As the establishment of English government in 1713 did not attract settlers until after the founding of Halifax in 1749, the Governor and Council

continued to act in an executive and legislative capacity until 1758. Under pressure from a local group, principally New England merchants who had settled at Halifax, and on the advice of the law officers of the crown, the imperial government decided to grant an Assembly. Since Halifax roplaced Annapolis Royal as the seat of government, it was there that the first popularly elected Assembly in what is now British North America met on October 7th, 1758.

In 1792 the Assembly cont ained thirty-nine members, thirty-one of whom came from counties and towns that had been represented before the American Revolution, and the remaining eight from constituencies that in 1785 were given representation as a result of Loyalist agitation. Every male person over the age of twenty-one who possessed a freehold of the yearly value of forty shillings, had the right to vote. By this time full liberty of conscience was granted to all settlers, Papists included, who also possessed the right to be elected to the Assembly, while British Law, both criminal and Civil, was practised in the Courts of Justice.

When compared to the electoral privileges of contemporary

Englishmen, the Nova Scotians might be said to have enjoyed a greater degree of political liberty than the average man at home. Being a country of small farmers with each man cultivating his own grant assisted by one or two hired labourers, and with the franchise extending to every forty-shilling freeholder, the people as a whole actively participated in the government. During the period under discussion, 1792-1808, the electorate remained predominately American, as the immigration of Scotch and Irish had only just begun. It was these Yankee Nova Scotians that an English missionary had in mind when describing his travels there,

"Of Nova Scotia, I would say, that the par of information is greater than among people of an equal class at home. Most of the settlers are people who have travelled, hence they have learned more knowledge of things and men than often falls to the share of people who were never absent from the smoke of their own village. They possess a good deal of leisure and love of reading, and are in many respects an intelligent people."[1.]

When John Adams wrote therefore,"that the theory of government is as well understood in America as it is in Europe, and by

1. Marsden, op.cit.

great numbers of individuals is everything relating to a free constitution better understood than by the Abbe de Mably or Monsieur Turgot,"[1] his statement slightly modified could have been made in reference to Nova Scotia. In particular, the Loyalists were steeped in the principles of constitutional government pre-revolutionary theory, having been forced by events into a study of political theory, while the pre-Loyalists had brought with them that keen American spirit with its insistence on the right of the people to govern themselves.

With the Loyalists in favour, the old settlers found the avenues to political promotion closed to them. Representative of this group, but not of New England stock, was William Cottnam Tonge, whose father was a retired army officer who had actively engaged in the party feuds that distinguished the political life of Nova Scotia on the eve of the American Revolution. Through the influence of an English patron he was appointed Naval Officer in 1773 and held the post until his death in 1792. The office was at once solicited by Wentworth for his friend Putnam, but Dundas confirmed the temporary appointment of Tonge, who had acted as deputy for his father.

1. Adams, op.cit.

Wentworth was extremely disappointed at Tonge's succession, and did not hesitate to insinuate that he was unworthy of the post. As the Naval Officer attended to many of the matters for which the governor was responsible under the law, there is some excuse for his attitude on this occasion. Whether he had any serious reasons for disapproving Tonge it is difficult to state. He may have been influenced by his cousin, George Henry Monk, who had been a political enemy of Tonge's father. Whatever the reasons underlying his opposition to this appointment subsequent events confirmed him in this attitude and he remained Tonge's bitter enemy until the close of his administration in 1808.

The first challenge to the Administration Party came at the general election of 1799. With the exception of Freke Bukleley, who had recently died, the county of Halifax was represented by members who resided at the capital. These were Hartshorne, Wallace and Sterns, intimate friends of the Governor. On the eve of the election these men issued a joint card offering their services again. Tonge was determined if possible, to defeat this group. Unlike his opponents, he had little if any money. He resolved therefore, on a popular

campaign and carried the contest into the populous districts of Colchester and Pictou where he induced local men to enter the fray. Since 1783 these districts had shown marked development. Pictou in particular had grown fromaa tiny hamlet into one of the leading towns in the province, and its population at this time was about five thousand. Taken by surprise, the metropolitan group immediately issued a second card, "denying combination", and stating that they had united in one card to save time and trouble to the printer. What they had taken for granted had been met by a clever challenge, and despite their influence and wealth they were defeated. The returns favoured Tonge, Edward Mortimer(Pictou), James Fulton(Colchester), and Charles Morris, a pre-Loyalist who was moderate in his views. At first it seemed that the Governor had lost three faithful supporters in the Assembly, but the election was contested. Upon a petition from Wallace that Tonge had not within the said county an income of forty shillings per annum in freehold estates, the election was declared void. Tonge was relegated to his return for Newport, in which he had been successful, while Wallace after a second election, was returned for Halifax.

Originally Tonge had led the polls, having received a majority of four hundred votes over Wallace.

Since the general election which had followed the advent of the Loyalists, Nova Scotia had not witnessed such lively party politics. The whispering campaign about the Governor's share in the Maroon scandal added to the excitement, and probably provided gossipy conversation at the taverns and quilting parties throughout the long winter. Wentworth's reaction was to start a whispering campaign himself, but one that was only meant for his friend, John King. It was evident to the group at Government House that such a firebrand as Tonge had best be extinguished. Throughout these years the Governor's correspondence might almost be described as Wentworth's Symphony of "Nova Scotia in the Making" with a central theme song telling the story of a valiant struggle by the royal representative against the arch democrat Tonge.

A letter to John King at this time indicates how deeply the experiences of the American Revolution had effected Wentworth in his political judgment. Concerning the organisation formed by Tonge during the late elections he wrote, "He(Tonge)

has instituted corresponding Societies, Clubs, Committees, professing reforms and proposing instructions as Tests, for elections.....and if possible to introduce dissension into the New Assembly. The prudent, long experienced members of both Houses and other loyal, good people see and lament these violent schemes, and are exerting their utmost care to frustrate them. At this critical period all clubs, corresponding Societies or Committees to regulate or influence Government under any pretense whatever ought to be discouraged and vigorously suppressed. They never have yet failed of producing Mischief. It is not enough that people are happy, prosperous and well disposed. The fallen Angels, Milton tells us were so, in Heaven. Yet Satan introduced corresponding Societies I believe, and dissensions and Evil soon followed."[1.]

The above report gives some ideas as to Tonge's method of electioneering. It is possible that it was not quite so elaborate but it conjured up in Wentworth's mind visions of the days of Samuel Adams and his courier to the Home Office, Paul Revere. Wentworth suggested that in the interests of the public good Tonge should be dismissed.

1. C.O.217:73, Wentworth to King, Nov.27,1799.

In the nearby States a general election had also been in progress. Then, as now, such an event attracted the attention of their neighbours, the Nova Scotians. On the triumph of the Jeffersonian democrats the Loyalist oligarchy at Halifax regarded with "gloomy apprehensions" the future of organised society across the border, and as at this time their own province was disturbed by political controversies, they became uneasy. Victims of the new democracy they forgot that once they had favoured a reformed constitution for the older colonies. True, they had not taken the step which led to independence, but like their Whig contemporaries they had recognised that the old system would do no longer for colonies that had come of age. In Nova Scotia the position was different. The country was still young. Before it reached maturity the royal system of government, as found in the Governor's instructions, was to be firmly established. Everything and everybody that tended to arouse public interest in party politics was regarded as a danger to existing society. In the political philosophy of these Nova Scotian Tories self interest played its part, but their attitude is best explained by

remembering that they thought of themselves as the ruling class, the champions of law and order, the custodians of the royal prerogative.

It is natural to expect that Wentworth's denunciation of Tonge as a promoter of political clubs would hav e received full support from an administration that only recently had passed severe measures of repression, the Treasonable Practices Bill and the Seditious Meetings Bill. Whatever were King's reactions to this letter, apparently he did not pass it on to the Duke of Portland. At this time Wentworth was not in the good graces of Portland and the correspondence is mainly concerned with instructions and admonitions relative to the management of the Maroons. If however, the Governor's observations on the political situation in Nova Scotia failed to elicit comment, the assembly journals sent home for this year did not pass unnoticed.

In the new assembly the nominees for Speaker were Tonge and Uniacke. Though he was opposed to the Administration Party Uniacke probably owed his election to their support. To them he represented the lesser of two evils. Wentworth reported that Tonge "violently endeavoured to supplant Mr.Uniacke"

as Speaker. There is no evidence to show that these two were political enemies. Both were ambitious to lead the progressives and both had popular appeal. Whatever their differences at this time they had one common interest - to preserve the rights and principles of the lower house against any encroachment by the Council. It is interesting that they were not New Englanders. Tonge was native born though of English parents, while Uniacke belonged to a prominent family in Cork, Ireland.

In his opening address to the Assembly in 1800, Wentworth wisely adverted to the loyalty of the people and the harmony that existed in the government since his appointment in 1792. The blessings enjoyed by Nova Scotia were contrasted with the distress then prevailing in many parts of the world, particularly the United States where yellow fever was taking a dreadful toll. He then led up to the main point in the speech. Owing to the remarkable economic progress during the past eight years, the public credit had so improved that it had been possible in the last session to vote £2000 for public works. With such a recovery the Governor suggested some relief should now be granted to the merchants. Accordingly he recommended that the extra

duties imposed by the excise bill of 1793 should be lowered.[1] In the following session the county members opposed any reduction of the duties, and the council retaliated by disapproving the large sums voted for roads and bridges. The conflict between town and country interests continued throughout Wentworth's administration. According to the Governor nine-tenths of the revenue came from Halifax and yet being a minority its members had little influence in the appropriation of the public money. They were however, assured of the council's support as most of the members resided at the capital and a few were prominent merchants of the town.

In this year there was a sharp controversy between the two houses over the form of the appropriation bill. Three times the House sent this bill to the Council but each time it was returned disapproved. It was only at the third refusal that they forwarded an explanation. Their objection was that it was framed in such a way as to preclude them from exercising their right to assent or dissent to each several law intended to be continued thereby. They suggested that the House send up separate bills for continuing the several revenue laws, and

1. C.O.217:74,p.133,Assembly Journal, Feb.21,1800.

they would give their assent to such of them "as they may on consideration think adequate to the exigencies of the government".[1] In their reply the House regretted that the council had not made known their wishes sooner, but because of the advanced state of the session they proposed that the council should pass the bill as it stood, and in the next session the House could arrange a discussion to establish the mode of procedure in future. As the council persisted in their request for separate acts, the House on the motion of Tonge resolved to address the Governor.[2]

In the address the Assembly refer to the manner in which the council conducted their meetings. As they were held in private and the proceeding were secret the House was kept in ignorance of their objections to the bill. A request for a conference was ignored and they received no reply until they had made considerable reductions in the appropriations and sent up the amending clauses of the new bill separately and also a further bill for continuing the new revenue act. Even then though the Council agreed "to the principle of the revenue as last proposed" they still adhered to the claim of having

1. C.O.217:74,p.251, Assembly Journal, Apr.15,1800.

2. Ibid.,p.261.

separate bills to continue each Revenue Act and each Act in amendment thereof instead of one single bill. After full consideration the House determined "that the admission of this claim would be destructive to the privileges of our House", and rather than abandon "one of the most important rights of our constituents" they appealed to the Governor for advice.[1] While expressing regret that differences should exist between the two Houses, Wentworth recommended that they conform to the wishes of the council relative to the separate bills. In his opinion there would be no sacrifice of any rights and privileges as it appeared to be only a matter of form "but at the same time necessary and perfectly safe for the complete and regular proceedings of both branches of the Legislature."[2]

By having the various revenue acts passed separately instead of being included in a single bill, the executive strengthened their power of veto in the expenditure of money. In this same session they had also attempted to exercise the right of framing a money bill, but the House refused to let it come up for discussion. In the previous session in 1799 they claimed the right to frame and originate money bills

1. C.O.217:74, Assembly Journal, Apr.23,1800.

2. Ibid., p.266.

equally with the House, but stated that they would not insist on it. This had resulted in a long discussion on rights and privileges. The attitude of the House was that this declaration by no means established or created such a right, but would only "sow the seeds of internal jealousy and discord amongst the subjects of this country." The resolution then ended with the solemn declaration that "it is the sole inherent and unalienable right of the representatives of the People to frame and originate all Money Bills; that it is by the Law and Constitution of Great Britain so established from time immemorial and that such a right is one of the Main Pillars of the British Constitution, and is a right which British subjects will never surrender but with their lives."[1.]

The Nova Scotia Assembly was thus placed on the defensive. Prior to the American Revolution the colonial assemblies had successfully established the principle that the upper house must accept or reject all money bills in the exact form in which they came from the representative chamber. Nova Scotia was still a young country. In the early years each item of appropriation was passed separately. This continued even after the ruling of

1. C.O.217:73,p.247, Assembly Journal,

1785 that there must be a regular appropriation bill passed each year, all the items being approved separately by the council and assembly before being included in a single bill. With the marked increase in revenue it was inevitable that there should be a change on the part of the lower house. In attempting to extend their control over finance, they were met by an equally determined effort by the upper house to exercise a strict control over the appropriation and to enforce the power granted them by the Governor's commission and instructions. On this point the Council had the support of the Governor, and so the same controversial issues which had disturbed the harmony of colonial legislatures under the Old Empire continued on in Nova Scotia under the new.

The attitude adopted by the Secretary of State on this occasion was more or less a mild censure of the Council for ignoring the Assembly's request for a conference. Portland frankly stated that from his examination of the Journals he failed to see the Council's motive for this action, and informed Wentworth "it is a matter of course where a concurrence is requested by either House to comply with such a request..... and the results

of such a conference would in all probability have settled the point relative to bringing in the several bills."[1] He did not make any further comment beyond suggesting that parliamentary procedure established for like cases should be followed in the colony. Later on, in answer to Wentworth's letter describing the business of the session and denouncing Tonge's activities in the Assembly as little short of sedition, he cautiously wrote that the controversy "may have arisen naturally enough from the present Constitution of the province without reference to any improper motive or principle. I trust that these rights and privileges are now so well understood as not to afford any room for further differences on the same ground."[2] By ascribing the particular difficulties in this instance to the constitution of the province, Portland had in mind no doubt the Assembly's claim that they occupied a position in local affairs similar to that which the House of Commons enjoyed in England. The enforcement of such a claim modified the constitution as expressed in the Governor's commission and instructions. Since this document in no way restricted the Council's share in legislation, that body demanded the right to amend money bills as freely as other

1. C.O.217:74,p.15-19,Portland to Wentworth, July 1800

2. C.O.218:27, Portland to Wentworth, Oct.17,1800.

measures. In this they had the full support of Wentworth, but Portland refrained from giving any definite statement on the subject. In a somewhat similar case in another colony he is more explicit. "I am clearly of the opinion," he wrote, "that the voting, and if the Assembly think proper, the appropriating of Monies voted is peculiarly within its Province;" but he reserved to the Governor the sole power to sign warrants for the disposition of the money so voted.[1]

The peaceful session of 1801 was in a sense the lull before the storm. From then until the close of Wentworth's administration the tension between the two houses increased with each passing year, reaching a climax in 1807 on the eve of his retirement. In 1802 there was much altercation over the appropriations for roads and bridges, but the main issue was an inquiry conducted by the House into the monies expended for the building of government house. In 1799 the Assembly granted £10,000 for this purpose, and a commission had been appointed by the Governor to supervise the construction of it. When it was learned that little progress had been made towards the completion of the building, although the total grant was almost expended,

the House on the motion of Tonge voted an investigation. From this it appeared that Michael Wallace, the principal commissioner, had acted generally without the advice and concurrence of those associated with him and had exceeded the amount allowed by the grant. However, he was exonerated from any attempt at embezzlement and commended for the zeal and ability he had displayed in the performance of his dutied.[1] The root of the trouble here may be traced to the fact that the building was planned on too pretensious a scale for the size and wealth of the province. Wentworth never forgot the splendour of Wentworth-Woodhouse, and it will be remembered that in New Hampshire he had expended at least £120,000 on a country home after the style of the great English mansion. In Nova Scotia he again gave rein to his love for the stately things of life and bequeathed to the province a government house which with all the passing changes still stands, dignified and strong, a fine monument to a great royal governor. Nearby, in the little churchyard of St.Paul's he sleeps unknown to many Haligonians. Not a street recalls his name to the passer-by, yet his influence persists. That appreciation of the finer things in life which still distinguishes the little capital of

1. C.O.217:27, Assembly Journal, 1802.

Nova Scotia is the heritage from colonial days when John Wentworth and the young Prince Edward built better than they knew.

From a reading in the Journals, the inquiry seems at first just the usual clash between the Assembly and the Executive over the expenditure of the provincial monies. But this was the year in which Wentworth's recall was expected with each incoming vessel from England. The recent Maroon affair may have led Tonge and other members of the opposition into supposing that there had been a misappropriation of funds. The attack was directed not so much against the Governor as against Wallace. While the inquiry serves, therefore, as another illustration of the Assembly's policy to extend its control over finance it was but the beginning of a series of personal quarrels being fought out on the floors of the assembly house by Tonge and Wallace. Wallace was soon elevated to the Council, which only added fuel to the fire. The following year Wentworth accused Tonge of seeking to establish an elective legislative council.[1] While Wentworth's appointments to the upper house and his distribution of patronage among the local men strengthened his administration, at the same time by its partiality for one group it set up

1. P.A.N.S. 53, p.445, Wentworth to Hobart, Aug.5,1803.

frictional waves within the political circle that made each succeeding session more lively and exciting than the one previous.

In this year, 1803, the Assembly made a determined effort to frame the final apprppriation bill without regard to the Council's wish to vote for each item separately. Having come to the decision to grant £5,710 for roads and bridges, a list of the total grants for each county was sent to the Council for their approval. The rejected resolution was returned to the House, but on the following day the Council informed the House that they agreed to the Revenue bills. Tonge then moved that the Speaker should not sign the bills until"he shall be specifically authorised to do so" by the House. His object was to hold back the Revenue bills until the road appropriations were agreed to. As the Council had refrained from any explanation for their dissent to the road grants, Tonge moved that a Committee be appointed to examine the Council journal to ascertain what the objectives were.[1] The Council objected to this,claiming that it was contrary to parliamentary usage, but moreover, they agreed to send the House excerpts from their Journal on the subject. The House however, were determined "not to receive as a favour what it esteems as right." On the motion of Tonge the House then resolved to appoint

1. C.O.217:78,p.345,Assembly Hournal, July 1,1803.

a committee to search through the Journals of the House of Lords for precedents.[1] The result was favourable to the Assembly. It was discovered that there were numerous instances to show the right of the Commons to examine the Lords Journal was never denied or doubted. The Committee then pointed out that the Commons of Nova Scotia had more reason to exercise this right than the Commons in the mother country. In England the journal of the upper house was printed and the proceedings were open and public, whereas in Nova Scotia the proceedings of the Council were "in private, their doors being shut and their journals never being printed."[2] Without this right to search the Council's journal it would never be possible for the House to obtain information concerning their proceedings. The Council's practice of sitting in private continued to be a source or irritation between the two houses for many years to come, and was one of the grievances mentioned by Joseph Howe in the address of the Nova Scotia Assembly to the King in 1837 when they appealed for an elective legislative council.[3] In an effort to end the deadlock Wentworth summoned the Assembly to the Council chamber and informed them that it was his wish they should pass the revenue bills, in order that he might close the session already

1. C.O.217:78,p.353, Assembly J ournal, July 6,1803.

2. Ibid, p.355.

3. Belland Morrell, "Select Documents on British Colonial Policy." Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, p.34-37.

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unnecessarily protracted.[1] Uniacke also advised the House to reach an agreement otherwise he feared the Governor would pro - rogue the Assembly. Shortly after, probably on the advice of Wentworth, the Council informed the House that they would agree to a sum not exceeding £4000 for road appropriations, but insisted on the right to deliberate separately on them. Morris, at times a government supporter, then moved that the House sign the revenue bills preliminary to the discussion of the appropriation bill. The bills were then signed and sent to the Council Further disagreement over this bill witnessed a more moderate tone in the Assembly, despite Tonge's insistence on the right of the House to frame the bill independent of the wishes of the executive branch. Through the influence of Uniacke the bill was at length passed, though the House had to agree to a sum less than £1000 the original vote. In presenting the bill to Wentworth for his approval Uniacke did not hesitate to express the attitude of the House on this question. After a reference to the difficulties in framing the supply bill he remarked, "I am convinced that the people of this province will patiently wait a more favourable opportunity to accomplish the numerous

1. C.O.217:78,p.255,Minutes of the Council, July 15,1803.

objects that yet remain unattained."[1.]

With this parting thrust Uniacke gave notice that the Assembly had accepted defeat only in the interests of the public good, and were prepared to shelve reform till the return of peace. Though he might differ from Wentworth and his party on certain measures yet his position as attorney general demanded that he do nothing to weaken the government. Uniacke was very popular. Witty, with an Irishman's flair for oratory, he was a ready and attractive speaker, fond of society but with none of society's distaste for the common man. To these qualities were adeed common sense, shrewdness and an unerring political instinct. Such a man naturally commanded a following. Recognising that some reform was necessary, he hesitated to assume the responsibilities of public criticism under war time conditions and used his influence to tone down enthusiasts like Tonge without in any way infringing on the freedom of debate. It is interesting to note that on these questions relating to rights and privileges the voting is very close, the opposition rarely having more than a majority of one or two votes. This was probably owing to the support given the

1. C.O.217:78,p.147, Assembly Journal, July 28, 1803.

Governor's party by a few old settlers. A trend away from the strict division of Loyalists and pre-Loyalists is noticeable however in the alignment of Simon Bradstreet Robie with Tonge's party. Robie was the sone of a Loyalist and had recently been elected to represent Truro, a town settled by North Irish people from New Hampshire in 1760. Emerging therefore, during this period is the new Nova Scotian, conservative yet progressive, determined to retain the old forms but adapting them to meet the needs of a new age. The French Revolutionary Wars delayed this movement but after 1815 it surged forward and the idea of an elective legislative council first advanced by Tonge bore fruit under the guiding genius of Joseph Hose, son of a Tory printer from Boston.

In this controversy of 1803 there is the usual clash between town and county interests with the Tonge-Wallace feud increasing the intensity. Tonge suspected that Wallace opposed the large grants in order to keep a surplus in the treasury for speculation. Whether Wallace was guilty or not, it accounts for Tonge's policy of increasing the road appropriations at the risk of an empty treasury. Every device possible was used to force the

Council into accepting the Assembly's estimate and to place them in an embarrassing position. There is much of the usual party strategy in these proceedings, yet the Council do not appear in a very favourable light. By their stiff and unbending attitude they helped to create much of the discord. In all these disputes they had the support of the Governor. Though Wentworth was anxious to improve inland communication and ever urged generosity in the grants for public works, yet it is not to be expected that he should favour a policy which promised to put the province in debt. Some check was necessary, but his partiality for Wallace added to his own personal dislike of Tonge prevented him from viewing the question except in a biased light. Had it been different his influence might have affected a compromise and avoided the heated debates that took place in this session. However, Wentworth was of his age. His policy was to strengthen the executive as a bulwark against the incoming tide of democracy. For him there was no eloquence in those exciting debates that daily filled the Assembly room with interested spectators. Rather it was just a "rattling torrent of words" that impressed only the country members. Generally

his description of Tonge was that of a fiery spell-binder. At times he referred to him as the "United Nova Scotian" or again he was a miniature of the Abbé Siéyès of France. To further disturb the quietude of his little province Methodist missionaries had of late been travelling through the country. Contacting with people seldom visited by the clergymen of the Established Church they soon had a large following. Religious fervour spread from serving man to master, perhaps the most noted convert being Wentworth's old friend, William Bayard. Surrounded by so much "hysteria" in religion and politics Wentworth's apposition to~~ward~~ change became almost fanatical.

# CHAPTER XII.

## RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

Perhaps more than any other colonial governor, Wentworth was prepared to meet the Assembly's challenge to the royal prerogative. Patronage and loyalist sentiment gave him the support of a large following in the lower house, and when at times the contest became too exciting for the moderates in the opposition, they were inclined to cross over to the administration party. With both Assembly and Council striving to increase their power in provincial affairs, the cont rol of the finances, became the main source of contention between them.

In the next session, 1804, Wentworth gave notice that he intended to exercise more control over the appropriations than formerly. Not only did he suggest an estimate for the road grants of this year, but he proposed that the commissioners entrusted with the supervision of the various public works should be responsible to the executive government only. To this the Assembly respectfully replied that they would give every consideration to his suggestions, and in due course

grant a sum of money "to be expended and accounted for in the mode heretofore adopted".[1] Undisturbed by this answer, Wentworth first informed the assembly that he had no wish to prevent the appropriation of any sum which the province could reasonably grant nor to deprive the house of its constitutional right of enquiry into the conduct of public auditors. His object was "merely to reserve to the executive government the general superintendence and direction of all appropriations of monies granted to the crown for public services, and the control of such persons as should be appointed to expend the same, and these powers being prerogative rights, although they may have been in some instances left to the management of the assembly, may be constitutionally resumed by His Majesty's representative whenever he thinks the general interest requires it".[2] This encouraged the Council to adopt a similiar attitude and the stage was then set for a most exciting contest. After five weeks' fruitless discussion on the appropriation bill, Wentworth prorogued the assembly without the bill having been passed. The initial source of the friction had been the assembly's resolution

1. C. O. 217:79,p.266, Assembly Journal, July 5, 1804.
2. Ibid.,p.279, Assembly Journal, July 10,1804.

at the beginning of the session to examine the expense accounts of the road commissioners and to fix the amount of compensation they should receive for their services. As these commissioners were appointed by the governor and paid on his warrant, he immediately asserted his right to control this service. The assembly were equally determined to extend their control over these expenditures and inserted clauses in the appropriation bill that regulated the appointment, conduct and responsibility of the commissioners. As the council refused to give their assent to the bill until the clauses were omitted, a deadlock ensued, which Wentworth brought to an end by prorogation.

As the civil list was provided by parliament the governor could afford to adopt this attitude. Convinced that he had it in his power at this time to check the assembly's encroachment on the royal prerogative, he went one step further and declared his intention to pay the "concurred votes" according to the practice before the appropriation bills were introduced. Despite threats from the assembly that they would prosecute the treasurer he paid out 5000L for permanent expenses. Whatever the powers granted him by his commission, he could hardly

have expected those Yankee Nova Scotians to accept complete subordination without some protest. The assembly had been quite plain as to their attitude when they discussed the matter with the council. "Only the present critical state of affairs", they said, "prevented them from petitioning the King to secure them their rights and privileges.[1]

Wentworth did not hurry to summon the Assembly, and allowed sixteen months to go by before he convened it in November 1805. If he had expected to find them a chastened group after such a long recess, he soon realized his mistake. Despite their declaration to avoid dissension they at once engaged in a controversy over the treasurer's accounts. Their object this time was to make the treasurer responsible to the assembly. Addresses to the governor for detailed statements of the expenditures made by Wallace brought one evasive answer after another.[2] Whether the house believed that there was some irregularity in the accounts or whether they only used the argument to win their point, it is difficult to say. Probably both are true. The spirit of inquiry in the assembly is indicative of the suspicious attitude of the opposition towards

1. C. O. 217:79, p.299, Assembly Journal,1804.
2. C. O. 217:80, p.407, 413,416, Assembly Journal, Dec, 1805.

the group at government house since the Maroon scandal. The secret manner in which the council's meetings were held increased that feeling. When it was seriously believed that the men in favour with the governor were growing rich at the expense of the province, only a change in administration could effect a happy compromise between the conflicting opinions of the executive and the assembly.

In making his reports to the home authorities on this session, Wentworth reverts to his usual accusations against Tonge. In this year Tonge had been elected speaker of the house to replace Uniacke, who had leave of absence to visit England. In accepting the honour conferred on him he said, "I feel this to be the most honourable day of my life, the exalted station in which your favourable opinion has placed me has long been an object, and I trust a laudable object of my ambition, but to succeed as I have done without intrigue, without personal solicitation or the influence of party, by the voice of so great and respectable a majority is highly gratifying to my feelings.....I trust my exertions to promote the honour of the house and to support its just rights, and

"my strictly impartial conduct may prove me in some measure worthy of the distinguished mark of confidence you have conferred on me." In his address to the governor he asked for "a large share of candid and indulgent consideration.....and a favourable construction of my conduct". Should he fall into error he trusted it would not be considered "as proof of any design to do wrong".[1]

Unfortunately such a frank declaration failed to produce the desired effect. Like its predecessors, this session was long and stormy. Perhaps Wentworth may have thought that Tonge would sacrifice his principles for his personal interests. The reverse was true. As speaker, Tonge was expected to preserve order and harmony in the house, but to have thwarted the just exercise of inquiry or the assembly's control over the appropriation of monies would have been a betrayal of duty. At the close of the session an unfortunate incident occurred which deepened Wentworth's distrust of him. Through some error Tonge failed to have the bills ready for Wentworth's signature on the day appointed, which obliged the governor to return the following day to the council chamber for that purpose. On the advice

1. C. O. 217:80, p.383, Assembly Journal, Nov.30,1805.

of the house Tonge in company with three other members went to the governor and apologised for the mistake. Wentworth accepted the explanation as satisfactory,[1] but in reporting the matter to the secretary of state he declared that the bill was delayed another day in order to afford time to land and dispose of a valuable cargo free of duty. The amount of duty thereby lost was said to be about 1500L. This serious charge loses much of its weight because of Wentworth's biased opinion of Tonge, and the fact that he had accepted the explanation. The responsibility in this case ~~must rest~~ must rest on both houses for allowing the revenue bills to expire. Moreover, if such a large sum was involved it seems unlikely that Tonge would have dared to delay the bills on this purpose. By this time the political issues had become so confused by personal disputes that the subject of rights and privileges had become a medium for settling private grudges. As the assembly now expired under the terms of the septennial act, it must have been with a feeling of relief that the governor dissolved it.

For years Wentworth had filled his correspondence with

1. C. O. 217:80, p.450, Assembly Journal, January 15, 1806.

complaints against Tonge. He had repeatedly urged that he be dismissed from office and even suggested a financial arrangement for Tonge's mother, who had an interest in the office by reversion. Since Portland had left office, Wentworth's comments on the party conflicts in Nova Scotia had been passed over in silence. There is only one indication that the home government were watching political events in the little province. This was in 1802 when Wentworth nominated Uniacke for the council. Lord Hobart then replied that the distinguished merit of Uniacke made him anxious to promote any wish he might have to be raised to the upper house, yet the "advantage the public service derived from the able manner in which he conducts the business of the assembly as its speaker, induces me to hope that he does not at present entertain any earnest desire to be removed to the Council Board"[1]. In 1805 Wentworth again proposed Uniacke, but when it was learned that he had no wish to be promoted, the home authorities breathed a sigh of relief. It was arranged that whenever he should be called to the council he would not lose precedence at the board, since he had been "induced to to remain in his situation as speaker for the public convenience

1. C. O. 218:27, p.27, Hobart to Wentworth, Dec. 1, 1802.

and in the uncertainty who might be elected to that situation if he declined it".[1] At the time his son declared that his father's acceptance "would not be approved by the friends of government"[2] in Nova Scotia. It is probable that Wentworth only meant the nomination as a compliment. He could hardly have wished to promote Uniacke as he knew that Tonge was ambitious for the post. The exigencies of the war had thus caused His Majesty's Ministers to adopt a cautious attitude towards the political problems of Nova Scotia. With Uniacke as speaker the King's interests were protected while progressives like Tonge enjoyed the freedom of debate. At the same time the royal preorgative was being zealously guarded by Wentworth. Even if they had considered Tonge too radical for the post of naval officer, they probably hesitated to remove a popular man from office simply because he liked to play tribune to the people, the majority of whom were loyalists.

Wentworth, however, had reached a decision. Without waiting for official action he was determined to check Tonge, whose popularity and power as an orator were making him too dangerous an opponent. When the new assembly met, Tonge was

1. C. O. 217:80, p.505, Bernard to Gordon, May 30, 1805,
2. Ibid.

again elected speaker. Wentworth, however, declined to accept him and requested the house to choose another. The assembly's reaction is interesting. After deliberating a few days, they elected Lewis Wilkins, a loyalist and near relative of Wentworth, who was accepted. In their reply to the Governor's opening address the house remark that "while we lament that your Excellency has been pleased to exercise a branch of His Majesty's prerogative long unused in Great Britain and without precedent in this province, we beg leave to assure your Excellency that we shall not fail to cultivate assiduously a good understanding between the different branches of the legislature, and to prosecute with diligence the business of the sessions".[1] Such a quiet rebuke and ready acceptance of Wentworth's decision may be attributed to an increase of government supporters in the new house. Either they had become resigned to wait for more tranquil times in which to press their claims, or else, with their thoughts turned back to 1775, they hesitated to tread the stormy path of constitutional reform. They may have been expecting some relief from Uniacke's visit to England. At any rate they were not prepared at this time to contest

1. P.A.N.S.,303, No.84, Assembly Journal, March 1806.

this right with the governor.

For the time being fortune was on Wentworth's side. A sudden change in the administration in England had brought in a secretary of state who was a bitter enemy of reform. With so little attention paid to his complaints during the past nine years, Wentworth's surprise must have equalled his satisfaction in receiving word from Windham that " in the event of Mr. Tonge persisting in the line of conduct of which you complain, and of your feeling yourself called upon to exercise the power with which you are invested of suspending him from his office, you will of course not omit by the earliest opportunity to report the whole circumstances of the case for His Majesty's consideration."[1] The governor must have had this letter when he refused to accept Tonge as speaker. He waited a few months before taking the next step, dismissal. It is important to note that when he decided to remove Tonge from office he informed Windham that Tonge had been introducing "disorderly combinations among the militia when ordered upon duty", and had called meetings of the officers "suggesting grievances in the arrangement of their ranks and warmly in long speeches recommending their

1. P.A.N.S., 60, No. 90, Windham to Wentworth, May 10, 1806.

resignation which they wisely refused"[1]. It is true that Tonge had been taking an active interest in the militia. His brother was aide-de-camp to the commanding officer at Halifax, and it is probable that they had many conversations on the defense of Nova Scotia. From a paper on provincial defense in case of an Anglo-American war, it appears that Castlereagh thought highly of his talents and adopted his idea that field officers should be sent out to train the militia.[2] To a man of Tonge's ability and independent nature, it was impossible to be silent when he saw the need for reform. Gifted with a talent for organization and leadership, it was his misfortune to live in an age when to suggest improvements in the existing order of things was to be classed a radical. He disapproved Wentworth's system of promotion in the militia, and probably credited the governor with the inefficiency that existed there. Unfortunately he could not know that for years Wentworth had pleaded for arms, ammunition and more reserves. Throughout this period the home government's policy was to reduce the military establishments in the colonies to the lowest scale possible, and when an interim of peace had come in 1801 the governor had been re-

1. P.A.N.S., 54, p.144, Wentworth to Windham, March 23, 1807.

2. C. O. 217:80, p.465, Skerrett to Castlereagh, Oct. 25, 1807.

quested to make every reduction possible in the different departments under his care.[1] This had forced Wentworth to secure as much assistance from the colony as they could give, and his appointments to the militia were guided by this consideration. By meddling with the affairs of the militia, Tonge was guilty of interfering with matters outside his jurisdiction. Occasionally he was tactless and impetuous and it must be admitted that in opposing the governor, particularly in regards to the militia, it was a serious error in tactics from a man receiving government pay.

The fault, however, was not so much with the men as with the system and the great epoch through which they were passing. A change comes with the return of Castlereagh to power. In the summer of 1807 Castlereagh had come to the conclusion that a different arrangement would have to be made for the North American provinces. As the tension between the United States and Great Britain increased, he decided to place a military officer at the head of the government in most colonies.[2] This eliminated many of the difficulties which had existed under the old arrangement when the military authority had been divided

1. C.O.218:28, p.8, Hobart to Wentworth, Oct. 13, 1801.

2. C. O. 42, 135, Castlereagh to Prescott, Aug. 1807.

between the governor and the officer in command of the garrison. Accordingly in January 1808 he wrote Wentworth explaining the necessity for the change, and informed him that in appreciation of his long service to government His Majesty's Ministers had recommended him to the King for an annual pension of 500L.[1] Through Sir George Prevost, he asked the provincial government to vote a similiar amount. After some debate the vote passed the assembly, and an act was passed imposing an additional duty on wine to supply a revenue from which Wentworth was to be paid this pension for life.

Between Tonge's dismissal in March 1807 and Wentworth's retirement in April 1808, another serious difference occurred between the assembly and the governor. This last conflict arose over the right of the assembly to regulate the election of its members. A certain seat having been declared vacant because of some irregularity, the speaker applied in the usual form for a writ for a new election. After consulting with the council, Wentworth suggested that the house forward their minutes on the case to the attorney general before any decision was made. Both Uniacke and the solicitor general were of the opinion that the

1. C. O. 218:27, p.264, Castlereagh to Wentworth, Jan. 24, 1808.

assembly had acted legally in vacating the seat of Walker, member for Annapolis, and gave it as their opinion that the law and usage of parliament extended to the colony, and that the house had similiar powers to the House of Commons. The council would not agree to this, stating that the law of parliament could not be transferred to nor vested in the general assembly of Nova Scotia, which owed its creation to the royal instructions and was regulated by the laws of the province. As the provincial act of 1789 relative to elections did not embody the 5th clause of the English act 7 & 8 Wm.3rd disqualifying members for bribery, the council decided that such qualifications did not extend to the province. Blowers, the chief justice and president of the council, advised that the case be referred to the secretary of state. The result was favourable to the house, the law officers in England having concluded that there was not "sufficient grounds to question the competency of the house to decide exclusively and without appeal on the validity of an election of one of its members"[1].

After this last attack on their constitutional rights, the house were not prepared to wait for a reply from England,

1. C. O. 217:81,p.671, Gibbs, Plumer to Castlereagh, July 7,1807.

but decided to take action independently. On the motion of Tonge it was resolved to appoint a committee of privileges to consider the matter, who suggested an appeal to the governor general asking him "to interpose his authority to protect the privileges of the house, or otherwise.....to transmit the case to His Majesty's Ministers, that they may be in possession of the statement made by the house as well as of the representations of the Lieutenant Governor on the subject"[1]. The report having been read it was then resolved unanimously "that all attempts to draw the examination, discussion or determination of the qualification of electors or persons elected, or the proceedings of sheriffs on the returns of writs for the elections of members or the decisions of the house thereon, to any other tribunal are unconstitutional attacks upon the most undoubted rights of the people of Nova Scotia.....and that an address be presented to.....the governor general agreable to the foregoing report of the committee of privileges"[2]. Accordingly on the first of January 1808 the house passed an address to Sir James Craig bringing before him their controversy with Wentworth, which they

1. P.A.N.S.,303, Assembly Journal, Jan. 14, 1808.

2. Ibid.

describe as " an attempt to destroy their independence". On the 29th of the month the despatches arrived from England confirming the privileges of the house and the writ was at once issued for a new election.[1]

As Wentworth had already been superseded, it can only be conjectured what action would have followed this address. It is however, particularly interesting as an example of the colonial attitude towards the central executive. Though the governor general seldom touched the individual life of the colony, yet his power over the government of British North America was not lost sight of. It was in fact Nova Scotia's first lesson in federalism.

Perhaps only a governor born and bred a New Englander would have carried on such a war of attrition as that which Nova Scotia had experienced these past eight years. With a stubborness that would have done credit to his autocratic uncle, Benning Wentworth, the governor was determined to impose on the province a system of colonial government which had never existed except in the ideal state designed by its royal authors in the 17th century. Had an Englishman been in power at this time much of the friction would have been attributed to his ignorance of colonial character. This could not be said of John Wentworth. He understood thorough-

1. P.A.N.S., Vol.303, Assembly Journal, January 14, 1808.

ly the workings of the provincial mind. Knowing that their love of popular institutions was only matched by a strong acquisitive instinct, he endeavoured to withdraw the attention of his people from politics and direct it towards the economic development of the colony. Had it not been for Tonge, it is possible that he might have avoided these disputes on rights and privileges. The distractions of the war and the incoming tide of prosperity kept the public mind fully occupied, and he might have gone quietly on his way restricting the activities of the Assembly to purely subordinate matters without much challenge. It is true that he had another opponent in Richard John Uniacke, but while Uniacke held liberal views, yet he was a moderate and moreover was ambitious to found a family. In the very letter in which he roundly criticized Wentworth's patronage system, he asked Castlereagh not only to appoint his son provincial secretary but naval officer as well. He refrained from any comments on Tonge's dismissal and it is evident that though these two were not openly antagonistic, yet by 1807 he had come to disapprove Tonge's political activities as much as he did those of the governor. Prior to his appointment as

attorney general, Uniacke could not be classed as a conservative nor was he above party intrigue, but with his elevation to that office he tended to wrap himself in the dignified mantle of his high calling. His nature, however, prevented him from becoming a fanatical convert to toryism and he devoted his talents in the house to keeping in check the more democratic members. During this period there are therefore three political groups in Nova Scotia, the ultra conservatives led by the governor, the moderates under Uniacke and the radicals such as Tonge.

Whether Tonge was a radical in the accepted sense, is questionable. The assembly journals leave no doubt that he was the prime mover in every attempt to extend the control of the house over provincial finance. Yet this alone would not make him deserving of the name . It is his activities outside the assembly that have to be studied. In contrast to Uniacke, he resorted to popular appeals. By arousing popular interest in the election of 1799, he struck at the monopoly of the Halifax group. On his dismissal he again appealed to the people by calling town meetings to protest against Wentworth's action. Uniacke forbade the meetings as illegal and later on even advised against a local inquiry but suggested a petition to the King. Eventually Tonge did appeal to Castlereagh being assisted

by Francklin, the former Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey, who added a short treatise on the pettiness of colonial politics and the lack of foresight shown by some governors in failing to conciliate popular leaders. As the duties of his office took him to various parts of the country he became well known, which troubled Wentworth, for he knew that Tonge had it in his power to form a strong opposition party. Some of the bills that he introduced show that he was in advance of those about him. He was interested in public education and proposed that schools supported by provincial grants should be established in the different counties, and he may have favoured the elective system as practiced in the United States. As the political pendulum in Nova Scotia had swung to the extreme Right, it is not surprising that Uniacke should report the existence of such a group. In so far as Tonge openly opposed the loyalist oligarchy at Halifax, he must be regarded as the leader of the liberal group. He has left no record of his political beliefs and from one or two remarks he appears to have regarded local politics as rather petty. In an anonymous letter to Castlereagh the writer, obviously Tonge, says, "the term party spirit...[illegible] in this country has no more relation to the general government

of the Empire than to that of the Sandwich Island, our little contests are totally local and of a domestic nature and should no more excite the interference of a liberal minded governor, .....than those which divide a parish vestry, but a forbearance of this nature is not to be expected from one who having yielded up his independence has forfeited all pretensions to respectability".[1]

In this letter it is not the populnr lender who is accused of undermining the royal prerogative, but rather the King's representative. The suspension of Wentworth's salaries for a time had placed him in an awkward position. Always incorrigibly careless of private finances, he became hopelessly burdened with debts. While this was a fault common to many public men of the day, yet the unpleasant publicity which it received tended to lower Wentworth's prestige in the province. Continuing his damaging remarks the writer says, "There is scarce a merchant, tradesman, or even menial servant whom he has ever employed that he is not indebted to, his bills of exchange.....it is said have been protested and returned till they can find their way back of themselves, and by numbers of(servants)his name is bandied about in grog shops and poster houses in such a way, that so low is the credit of this representative of loyalty

1. C.O.217:81,p.712, Anonymous letter to Castlereagh, Aug.26,1807

in Nova Scotia that I believehe .....is served exclusively by French prisoners..... .. merely for saving of wages.....In such a situation he cannot be supposed to possess much of that independence so essentially necessary to his exalted station, and in fact he is most completely in the hands of two persons who relieve his necessities and employ his authority for promoting their own private views."And, as Mr. Anonymous continues, the "Cabinet Ministers on whose counsels the safety of this colony at present depend" are none other than Lawrence Hartshorne, a "ci-devant quaker ironmonger" and Michael Wallace, once a bankrupt trader.[1] Wallace was accused of speculating with the public funds, Hartshorne with the public lands. There is no way of proving the truth or the falsity of these charges. Both these men were intimates of the governor whose influence secured them government contracts, but there is nothing to show that he went beyond this. According to royal instructions the governor was forbidden to make any land grants. To provide for immigrants Wentworth had issued licenses of occupation. In this way he may have given grants to his relatives and friends, who sold them again "before the ink was dry upon the parchment". Furthermore, as his brother-in-law, Benning Wentworth, was judge of the court of escheats it was claimed that there was much injustice there.[2] While admitting that he

1. Ibid., p.709.

2. Ibid.

had a grievance against the governor the writer assured Castlereagh that these charges could easily be proved. Irregularities must have existed, but how deeply involved Wentworth was in these transactions is a matter of conjecture. The picture drawn of affairs in the colony is not a pleasant one. Knowing his kindly nature, one easily sees how he wished to assist the loyalists, both friends and relatives, and it must also be remembered that party feuds in a colony can magnify small grievances into serious charges. At any rate it had now become a fixed opinion among the old settlers that the government of Nova Scotia had been resigned into the keeping of a privileged administrative group that was a perfect prototype of the Wentworth family compact so long practised in New Hampshire.

The underlying cause of all these party conflicts may be traced to the fact that Wentworth, like the system he tried to enforce, belonged to an age that was passing. It had been a frequent complaint of governors under the Old Empire that the limitations placed on their appointing power and their dependence on the assembly for their salary had been the principal cause for the decline of the royal authority. The freedom allowed him in the disposition of provincial patronage

was therefore an attempt to reenforce government by royal grace and favour. Although conditions were ideal for experiment in Nova Scotia, each attempt failed. Despite his popularity and a large following, he was unable to force through the Council's claim to initiate or amend money bills. Though he gained a few points in regards to his control over the treasury and the selection of the speaker, ultimately he lost ground and the assembly did not hesitate to appeal to the governor general, when he dttempyted to deprive it of rights it judged peculiarly its own. Wentworth's fanatical reverence for the past obscured his judgment and made it impossible for him to view the great constitutional issues of the day in the calm light of reason. In the assembly's attempt to extend its control over finance he saw amendments to the constitutiona, which recent experience had shown was but the first step towards rebellion. After travelling with him from youth to old age through the pages of his many letter books, one is impressed by his consistent belief in the evils of democracy. By heritage he was a whig but he had grown up in an atmosphere of royal government. At Harvard his best friend and classmate was the celebrated John Adams, but Wentworth escaped any liberalizing tendencies and after his first visit to England he had returned to New Hampshire

with an intense love of English life and institutions and a determination to enforce the royal instructions. Thus from youth his political views were cast in the mould of aristocracy to be hardened into autocratic prindples by the American Revolution. In the old empire he had advocated a colonial policy that would gradually strengthen the royal executive and at the same time leave unrestricted the commercial activities of the colonists. He carried this with him into the new . The phrase, "it is not eno' that people are happy, prosperous and well disposed", which so often occurs in his correspondence is the key to his political beliefs after 1783. What he attempted to practice in Nova Scotia was paternalism. While this ensured stability it was not progress.

On his part, Tonge represented for the time being the voice of the people, the freeholders of Nova Scotia. Despite his attempts to make light of provincial politics, he belonged to the new age that looked forward to the democratic beliefs of the day. In offering a vigorous opposition to a reactionary council he did much to preserve the rights and privileges of the house. In 1808 he went to Demerara and though the assembly no longer knew his dynamic personality, yet he injected a spirit of liberalism into Nova Scotian politics that younger members,

such as Robie, Archibald and Ritchie, fostered and passed on to the age of Howe.

With Sir John no longer in power, Uniacke accepted a seat in the council. When in England in 1806, he had interviews with Castlereagh and other leading men at the colonial office. Aside from discussions on the immediate problems of the province, he prepared a memoir respecting affairs in the British American provinces in general, the conditions in the United States and the best means of making the colonies the successful commercial rivals of their republican neighbour. He even went further and offered suggestions as to the sort of treaty that should be concluded between the Empire and Napoleon, in order to secure the future peace and prosperity of the world. That which is of interest to the present study is his suggestions relative to colonial government. His proposal that the British American provinces should be formed into two principal governments, the Maritimes comprising one and the two Canadas the other, had been advanced by Sir John and His Royal Highness, Prince Edward, in 1795. At that early date external forces such as French intrigue and American hostility to Britian made such a union seem desirable. Like Uniacke they believed that the King's authority was only weakened in petty states such as Prince Edward Island

and Cape Breton, where the power of legislation was "ill defined and as badly executed". The governmental situation of both those islands during this period appears at time to have been little better than a state of anarchy. In a letter to John King, Chief Justice Strange gives a very amusing picture of Governor DesBarres' attempt "to sink in government" at Sydney, "Upon the arrival of an officer of the army, whom it was thought proper to entertain, the Etat Major were collected, in something like an old barn, ill covered; at dinner every third word with poor Gibbons was "Your Excellency", who in his turn not to be behind in the sublime addressed him, "My Lord Chief Justice," I have the honour to drink your Lordship's health". Such was the government house at Sydney, and contrasted with the dignity and form maintained at Halifax it must have seemed more like a comic opera than the dignified settling so essential for the royal representative. It is possible that Strange received these impressions from Wentworth who had a happy sense of humour and had visited Des Barres during his surveying trips in Cape Breton. Continuing Strange said, "I can scarcely bring myself to apply the title of Chief Justice to such places, "which I have always thought ought not to exist as separate governments".[1] However, he remarks, "wherever man is collected there must be someone to redress grievances and punish crimes".

1. C. O. 217:66, p.251, Strange to King, Aug. 26, 1795.

Again there is nothing new in Uniacke's suggestion that the offibers of the crown should be independent of any authority ... except the King. He proposed, however, a change in the legislativ council, which was a forward move and an indication that the .. group he represented in Nova Scotia was anxious for some moderate reform. The recent conflict in the legislature had disturbed the "friends of government". They probably feared that unless something was done, eventually a reform movement would come from these annual controversies that might sever the link with the Empire. The imperial sentiment was strong in Nova Scotia, but the province was in close contact with a prosperous republic and peopled by New England stock. It has been shown that Wentworth did everything possible to improve the economic life of the colony, but Uniacke and his followers went further and and tried to find a satisfactory compromise between provincial . and imperial ideals of colonial government. "The mode", he said, "in which the legislative council has heretofore been constituted in the colonies has very much weakened the hand of government"... ..... it "has prevented the governor having in his privy council some of the ablest men in the provi nce who were members of the house of assembly, and likewise deprived government of the support.....of some of the first people in the

the country, whose distant residence prevented them having a seat in the council. This system should be changed and at every new election of the house of assembly, a number of persons of the first fortune, influence and abilities equal to one half the number of the lower house should be summoned by the King's writ to serve as a legislative council. This branch of the legislature so constituted at the will of the crown would bring to its support all the property and influence of the country, the weight and power of which would always be sufficient to control any factious disposition which may appear in the lower house and would keep the government from being involved in personal controversy with the house of assembly, which at present is an event that too often happens"[1].

This new approach to an old problem had much to commend it. It offered a rough compromise for self-government, and if adopted might have had the effect of extinguishing the party conflicts that were inevitable under the old system. Whatever its worth, it could only have been a temporary solution of the constitutional problems of the day. While it is possible that a strong council such as this would at times have brought the governor under its control, it undoubtedly would have established an administrative group independent of the popular assembly.

1. C. O. 217:80, Uniacke to Windham, Feb. 8, 1806.

Both in England and in the colonies it was recognised that the great obstacle to any satisfactory settlement of colonial constitutional questions was how to provide ministerial government without weakening the imperial tie. Uniacke's ideas for federation, for a more clear defintion of the powers of colonial legislation and the need of revising the constitution were also being voiced in other parts of British America at this time. The loyalist group in New Brunswick were putting forth suggestions for a new constitution, something "more aristocratical" than the present one would be desirable, they said.[1] In Quebec political faction, complicated by religious hatred, was rife, while in Upper Canada a reform group, some of them in government pay like Tonge, was engaged in conflict with the governor.

Thus the constitutional issues which had disturbed the relations between the mother country and the colonies prior to American Revolution had come to the fore again in British North America. A difference in time is noted by the activity of the conservative group, who wished to be in advance of the radicals by providing some check for the rising power of democracy. In the home country, the tendency of His Majesty's Ministers towards the political situation in Nova Scotia had been to strengthen the executive; at the same time, they adopted a conciliatory

1. Adm.80/116, Upham to Auckland, Mar, X, 1807.

attitude to the assembly by conceding to them rights and privileges which the governor denied. Owing to the imminent danger of war with the United States the main problem was to put the country in a state of defense. As a military governor was necessary, it brought about Wentworth's retirement. Tonge was not overlooked and after a secret mission to the States he went to Demerara as a commissary with Governor Prevost, where he remained as secretary for the colony. In 1807 the death of Benning Wentworth and the removal of the governor's son to England weakened the administrative oligarchy and provided patronage for the incoming governor. Uniacke's attempts to secure for his son the posts of provincial secretary and naval officer failed, but his own elevation to the council was at last possible, and for many years to come he played an important role in the political life of the colony.

The shadow of the impending struggle with the United States had cut across the path of constitutional reform in Nova Scotia and it remained for another generation to dissolve the family compact and make good the claim that self-government was compatible with imperial sovereignty.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## CLOSING YEARS.

War time prosperity is perhaps the most striking feature of Wentworth's administration in Nova Scotia. It lifted the province out of the financial morass into which it had sunk ... after fifty years of mismanagement in fiscal affairs and enabled the legislature to carry out a programme of public works vital ... to the future growth of the country. With large grants available for the construction of roads and bridges, the countryside began to wear a new appearance. Under the pressure of increased markets agriculture expanded and with the influx of immigrants the forest waste was slowly pushed back; while the many harbours which dot the coast presented busy scenes of ocean going commerce privateers and His Majesty's ships of war.

The spirit of progress that was abroad in the land permeates the official and semi-official correspondence of this period. By 1800 the province had lost its bleak character as an outpost, and had taken on the warmth and vigour of an adult colony. Its maritime commerce brought it into contact with the great outer

world, and the men who were guiding its destiny were keeping abreast of the times. At Halifax the merchant class led the way towards economic expansion. In 1794 they had been successful in freeing inter-provincial commerce from the restrictions then hampering it, and after the Peace of Amiens they endeavoured to expand their markets in the West Indies. Before any progress could be made in this direction they had to effect a revival in the fisheries, which had steadily declined since 1793. Scarcity of labour was perhaps the greatest obstacle confronting them. Attracted by higher wages many of the fishermen had gone into other industries, while others had emigrated to the United States. The high price of salt and a poor market increased the difficulties. An appeal was made to the assembly for assistance, who readily granted bounties on fish caught by the local inhabitants and shipped in provincial vessels to the islands or southern Europe, and an additional bounty was also granted to encourage importation of salt direct from Turk's Island or the Mediterranean. About this time the provincial regiment was disbanded and a number of the men sought employment in this line, while the arrival of three hundred and seventy fishermen from the Isle of Barra, Scotland, was a great boon to the industry, and in 1803 Wentworth notes an improvement.

home country for a preference fo
their
The next step was to petition the/fish in the West Indies.

In 1804 the Halifax merchants formed an organization ... and constituted an executive committee, the Committee of Trade, to protect their interests and to correspond with the imperial government about commercial policy. Rumours that the Americans were seeking a further extension of their trading privileges in the islands induced them to address the secretary of state on the subject.[1] It is significant that the Nova Scotians included the other British provinces in this memorial and that many of the arguments advanced were the same as those put ... forward twenty years before when the American Intercourse Bill was under discussion. This time, however, they could ... substantiate their statements by facts rather than probabilities. With the exception of Quebec, Halifax had built up a flourishing barter trade with the other British provinces. Even in that province they had found a market for their prize goods, and in 1803 as a further stimulant to inter-provincial trade the Nova Scotia government had passed an act whereby rum imported from the British West Indies need not be unloaded if destined for Quebec. This eliminated the duties at Halifax and allowed the rum to be shipped to Canada as a direct import, thereby avoiding the additional duty levied on that province on rum

1. C.O.217:79,p.437-39,"Petition of Halifax Merchants" to Hobs Mar.23,1804.

otherwise imported.[1]

In referring to the marked development of Nova Scotia since 1783 they say, "the present situation of this province in regard to its trade resembled that of New England at the close of the seventeenth century, and unless checked at this crisis, it has "the most reasonable expectation of a more rapid increase than the latter ever experienced" Two factors however, tended to check this expansion, the rivalry of the Americans and the Planter's policy to retain a free trade with the United States at any cost. Emphasis is placed on the wisdom of the American government in subsidizing their fisheries which at the Peace in 1783 were almost annihilated, but now had reached such a flourishing state that if not checked would result in the ruin of the British fishery. Time had not altered the attitude of the Nova Scotians towards the Planters. They admitted the mutual interest of the Americans and the West Indians in a free trade to the islands, but said, "the Planters have no right to expect supplies from a neutral nation in time of war merely because it can afford them at a cheaper rate than the British colonies. They should bear the inconveniencies of war as well as their fellow subjects, who have been driven into these northern regions by their zealous loyalty in support of the happy constitution under which they now live.

1. C.O. 217:78, p.316, Assembly Journal, Mar.23,1804.

"The supplies required by the islands cannot greatly increase, while the Northern Colonies from their great extent and growing population will every year be more and more able to furnish those supplies-the islands are in a great measure limited in their extent, but the northern colonies are almost unbounded-The inhabitants of these colonies have acquired their present constition, which at best is mediocrity, by a continued exertion of industry and frugality under a climate and in a soil which yield their blessings to persevering exertion alone-The West Indian Planters have ever been in a different situation, and can afford to wait a reasonable time for the accomplishment of those expectations, which are justly entertained by the colonists. In the interim they ought to give a fair equivalent for the articles of which they stand in need, and not expect at an inferior price commodities whose value the imperious circumstances of the times have tended to enhance".[1]

Throughout this memorial the Nova Scotians are thinking in terms of imperialism and to a lesser degree, federalism. Contained in this documents are the sentiments of men who had paid a high price for their political principles. In the debates and addresses of this period there is constant reference to their loyalty to the home country, and a casual reader might attribute

1. C. O. 217:79, p.451,453, "Petition of Halifax Merchants" to Lord Hobart, Mar.23,1804.

it to the usual formal expression expected from a dependent colony, but behind the oft repeated declaration, "We are a part of the British Empire and are prepared to stand or fall with the Parent State", was a strong spirit of imperialism that sought progressiwithin the Empire. When they looked towards the West Indies they saw colonies favoured by nature in contrast to their own where the difficulties that usually beset a pioneering country were increased by the rigours of a northern climate. Nearby was a powerful and competitive nation who enjoyed commercial rights within the Empire denied the province, for in some of the islands the British Americans had to pay a strangers duty of 2½ % and in others a duty of 3% had to be paid in specie, which the Americans escaped being invited to the islands by proclmmations. As the Planters did everything possible to favour their trade with the United States, it was evident to the Nova Scotians that if they wished to extend markets in the islands, they could do so only if the mother country intervened on their behalf. To strengthen their arguments therefore, they included the other British provinces, not neglecting to allude to their future possibilities in the empire, while they again revert to the impolicy of the West Indies in depending solely on a for eign country for their supplies. Should differences at any time

arise between the mother country and the United States "from what quarter, it may bea sked, are the islands to obtain their supplies? The ruined trade and fisheries of these colonies may prove too late the fatal policy of throwing into the hands of foreigners a trade, which with a little encouragement might have been almost, if not entirely confined to British subjects". In a few years time this very event was to happen and Nova Scotia was to come into her own, but in 1804 the colony was determined to make a bid for the "privilege of furbishing the article of fish exclusively to their fellow subjects in the West Indian markets". They also refer in this memorial to the restriction on their trade with the Mediterranean countries, which was another drawback to the fisheries. In a letter to Bernard, provincial opinion on the subject was neatly expressed by Uniacke. "The ancient colonial system" he said, "is only put in force against the colonies of North America". Not only were the fishermen emigrating, but the merchants as well, and he very much feared that unless something was done the trade of the colony would be "turned into channels from which it will be very difficult if[1] at all possible to change it".

It so happened that since the outbreak of war this was the most opportune time for a favourable reception of their petition

1. C.O. 217:79, p.485, Uniacke to Bernard, Oct. 13, 1804.

English shipping interests were beginning to add their weight to the colonists' complaints against American encroachment onthe British carrying trade. In an Attempt to grant some relief to the British Americans instructions were sent to the governors in various islands not to admit American vessels on more favourable terms than those from the British provinces, and to exclude salt meat and fish entirely, in order to protect those industries in Ireland British North America. The governors were directed to report the reasons by which they were forced to open the ports to the Americans and to insert in every proclamation "conditions which shall prevent importations being made from the United States on more favourable terms as to duties on entry, than on similiar importations from the British colonies."[1] It was realized by the Committee of Trade that the British Americans could not supply enough of any of the articles needed in the islands except fish, but, in view of the bounty offered in the United States on the export of fish, the governors were were requested to see that favourable treatment was given to British fish.

In the next year the Quebec merchants joined the Nova Scotian in protesting against American encroachment on British carrying trade. Their problem was to ensure a good market for their corn,

1. B. T. 5,14, Minutes of July 14, 1804; P.A.N.S., 60,No.50, Camden to Wentworth, Oct.4, 1804.

and to prevent if possible the produce of Upper Canada from being diverted to an American port. Roads were then being opened "in all directions" in the States, and they said, that unless inland navigation and roads were improved in Canada, the Americans would soon have the resources of that country at their disposal. Owing to the heavy freight charges in time of war, the Canadian trade to the islands was made "more with a view to benefit the inward than the outward cargo"[1]. To reduce the disadvantages of high freights Wentworth suggested that convoys should be appointed for the West Indian trade, and in order not to incommode the servbee he proposed that the vessels assemble at Halifax at stated times throughout the year.[2] This request was granted and in order to consolidate their gains and to give the Planters no cause for complaint, the merchants again appealed to the Assembly to assist the industry by bounties, which resulted in a grant of three thousand pounds to encourage provincial vessels to engage in the fishery.

In the home country the "old guard", Sherfield, Knox, Brook Watson, General Carleton, Governor of New Brunswick, were gathering together in friendly conferences to discuss ways and means to further the interests of British North America in the West Indies.[3] Acting with them were the London ship owners,

1. Chatham Papers, Vol.346, Quebec Bundle. "Memorandum of Merchants of Upper and Lower Canada, Jan.24,1805.
2. P.A.N.S., 53, p.568,570, Wentworth to Camden, Mar.22,1805.
3. P.A.N.S., 303, No.68, Bernard to Halifax Committee of Merchnts June 4,1805.

who were demanding that the Navigation Acts be strictly enforced against the Americans. James Stephens' tract, "War in Disguise or the Frauds of Neutral Flags", found a warm response from this quarter and after Trafalgar, with England complete mistress of the seas, they made an attempt to get back some of the carrying trade lost to the Americans since 1793.

In the next year the Committee for Trade and Plantations recommended that a bounty of twoshillingsbe paid on every quintal of salted fish imported into the islands in British ships from Newfoundland and the other British provinces and a further bounty on pickled fish, ranging from one to four shillings per barrel. In addition the Committee recommended that the islands should grant a bounty of one shilling per quintal on British American fish, while a duty was to be imposed on all fish imported from the United States to countervail any duty which might be imposed in the States on British imported fish.[1]

About 53,000 quintals of dry cod were shipped to the West Indies and about 33,000 quintals to the United States in 1805 from Nova Scotia.[2] When these figures are compared with those for 1792 it is evident that there had been a remarkable increase in the export of that article, which at first seems at variance with the statements of the Halifax merchants. The decline of the

1. P.A.N.S., 60, No.84, Windham to Wentworth, Apr.2,1806; B.T.5:16, Minutes of Mar. 8, 1806.
2. C.O.217:80, p.197, An Account of the Fish exported from N.S for 1805.

Newfoundland fishery and the great increase in the coastal trade of Nova Scotia accounts for this seeming contradiction. As a result of the Continental System some of the Newfoundland fish that ordinarily went to Europe was diverted to Nova Scotia, while the islands of Prince Edward, Cape Breton and the Chaleurs country also bartered fish for food supplies and British manufactures. Nova Scotia was thus exporting her own catch and tapping the resources of the other provinces as well.

In the West Indies the attitude towards these new arrangements was one of sullen acquiescence and from a report sent to Halifax by a Nova Scotian agent at Grenada, neither the British Americans nor their fish were welcome in that island. The merchants there had no interest in the carrying trade, the supplies coming from the States in American vessels. While Grenada bought considerably quantities of dry and pickled fish and wood for casks from British American during the years 1805 to 1807, they did so because the resident agent for the province saw to it that Nova Scotia's interests were not sacrificed to the Americans.[1] To buy as cheaply as possible was the motto of the West Indian merchants, and preferably through known channels. The hold the Americans had gained on the West Indian markets was one not easily shaken and in 1806 all the prestige

1. C.O. 217:80, p.269, Copy of the Agent's letter to the Halifax Committee of Trade, Nov.10, 1805.

and weight of the mercantilist group could not prevent an act being passed by parliament to legalise the trade. By this act neutral vessels were admitted to the WestIndian ports until six months after peace should be signed.[1] As in 1783 Lord Sheffield again lead the mercantilists in opposing any break in the system of the navigation acts. Backed by memorials and petitions from the British American provinces and the London shipowners he refuted some of the well known arguments advanced by the Planters. Lord Hawkesbury preferred a partial sacrifice of commerce rather than abandon the old laws. Opposed to this group were men like Grenville, Holland and Audkland. Grenvillels reply to Sheffield is an interesting contrast to the principles held by the old school. "There is one error", he said, "into which statesmen were apt to fall, that of supporting old institutions when the circumstances which gave birth to them had ceased or had been materially changed".[2] Since the West Indies depended on the States for the main supply of their provisions during war time, this group maintained that they were not prepared to hazard the subsistence of nearly 1,000,000 persons inhabiting a most important part of the British Empire for the sake of confining the trade to British vessels. By the use of bounties and instructions to the governors to see

1. 46 Geo.111,c.111.

2. Cobbett's Debates, V11, p.1040. Probably political as well as economic motives actuated the home government's policy at this time. It was well known that America was not above encouraging revolution in the West Indies in order to secure freedom of trade.

that the British Americans received fair play, the home government rested its efforts to provide a market for British fish in the islands. In this same year the restrictionswas lifted from their Mediterranean trade, and bounties were also granted on colonial timber sent to the British market. Under the stimulus of Jefferson's Embargo of 1807, Nova Scotia's carrying trade forged ahead and the outbreak of war in 1812 did much to restore the prosperity of the British fisheries and the timber trade with the West Indies.

Throughout Uniacke's memoir and many other petitions sent home by the colonists, the increasingly aggressive commercialism of the Nova Scotians is perhaps the most striking feature. Fear and envy of the prosperous republic to the south urged them forward, while local patriotism is always present trying to convince the mother country that the province was not unworthy of her attention. As if to eradicate the old idea that it was a barren country, they refer to the recent surveys of the interior when it was discovered "that the lands are not only better than had been imagined, but superior to the greater part of the rest of North America[1]". The "Pestilential and factious cities" of the United States, which were then

1. C. O. 217:79, "Petition of the Halifax Merchants", Mar.23,180[illegible].

then attracting British capital and talents were compared to the healthy ports of the British provinces, who possessed Atlantic positions equally advantageous for the American coasting trade as Boston, Philadelphia or New York. While this urge to progress, this pride in local development so noticeable in the Nova Scotians of this period received a strong stimulus from contact with the United States, the underlying driving force seems to be none other than a natural reaction of a people who had come to love the land, and were determined to make good a lost cause in what was once the cinderella province of the old empire.

So much activity in the economic and political life of the colony tends to overshadow the social aspect of its history. While men were building roads, attempting to construct canals, to mine the coals and to establish banks, they were also abroad marketing their wares in the tropical colonies, the States and Europe, or privateering along the Spanish Main. The young Nova Scotian growing up in such a stimulating world, in sight of the sea with its age old allurement of mystery and adventure, inevitably strode forward into the new era with confidence and pride in his native land. Poor he might be, for business was mostly by barter, yet his

spirit was high and he could in the words of the old missionary read "tolerably well". Crudeness there was; yet almost every township had its village squire, its missionary and its schoolmaster. At Halifax the small and select coteries in favour at Government House patronised art and literature, built fine town houses and pleasant country villas, and became social models for envy or emulation. In the country social activities were limited and tended to center more in neighbourly visits and church gatherings. Isolated as they were from the main stream of provincial life, religion became the all absorbing interest in their lives, and from the reports of the missionaries it is evident that the Nova Scotians of this era had lost none of their New England individualism. Throughout these years a religious revival spread from one community to another, dividing friends and relations, and bringing into the drab and uneventful life of the pioneer farmer the crude religious mania of contemporary evangelicanism.

Joshua Marsden, a Methodist missionary, who came there in 1800 pictures his flock as a pleasant, hospitable people, harkworking yet delighting in owning a few acres "which neither the priest could tythe nor the premier burden with taxes".[1]

1. Marsden, op.cit.

In his writings he conveys a sense of primeval living, of men struggling with nature, digging their roots into a new land and happy in being free from the strife and poverty of the old. Other obstacles almost as formidable as the lonely woods and treacherous rapids confronted this young English missionary. A set of itinerant preachers from the United States were also travelling up and down the country preaching the Gospel, but as they belonged to an American sect called the "New Lights", they were under suspicion by the local authorities. This group attracted the lowest class of people and were not backward in attacking the established church, which they placed in the same category as the Church of Rome. While the Methodists indulged in "effussions of the spirit", their missionaries were not as rampant nor as fiery as those from across the bay, but to the official class, particularly the governor and the bishop, they were all fanatics who only unsettled the people and made straight the path of republicanism. Wentworth shrank from "enthusiasm" in religion as well as politics, and would have given those Yankee "innovators" their marching orders if he could. He appears to have respected the old dissenters, and only opposed the new groups who found themselves hampered and checked by "petty, brief authority".

"In distant colonies", Marsden says, "every upstart underling will lord it over a Christian missionary".

As in New Hampshire, Wentworth was untiring in his efforts to further the interests of the Church of England. Colonial life he thought had too long been disturbed by warring sects, and that progress and stability would only come by strengthening the Established Church. In King's College he saw an instrument for preserving the finest ideals of the old regime. Here again his judgment was faulty. By his influence a char ter was granted in 1802 which more or less excluded dissenters from attendance. Thus like the Family Compact it became a further progressive irritant in the life of the colony.

In the history of British colonial administration there is, perhaps, no more striking career than that of John Wentworth. Entering into public life at a time of acute political crisis in the Empire he endavoured to maintain the prindples of royal government against the upward surge of a new democracy, and by skillfully adopting a policy of conciliation met the challenge of the revolutionary leaders. Nature had endowed him with qualities of leadership necessary for such a task. Gifted with great personal charm and a kindly nature, he won the affection of his people and with a fearlessness tempered by

successfully warded off internal dissensions almost until the .. eve of the revolution. His policy of diverting public attention from political controversies to social and economic problems is characteristic of his administration in New Hampshire and Nova Scotia. Loyalty to the crown and to the old established order became the guiding principle of his political life, for which no sacrifice was too great. Reared in the atmosphere of the old colonial system, he accepted without question the standards of his class, and while using them to further his family own/interests never employed them in ways detrimental to the welfare of the people. Without doubt the expressions of loyalty and affection which Nova Scotians of all classes so often paid him were fitting tributes to a long and active life well spent in the service of his country. On his retirement from office in 1808 he left the province to return to England with Lady Wentworth in order to be with their only child, Charles Mary. With the years, his great love for his wife, Frances, had deepened, and scattered throughout his correspondence are many tributes to her beauty and charm. On her death in 1811 he returned to Nova Scotia to spend the remaining years of his

life.in the society of his old friends. The habits of a lifetime were not easily broken. Though no longer in office, he continued to interest himself in the affairs of the province, and until his death in 1820, was ever willing to extend his patronage to those who merited it. Although far from London society, he continued his friendship with the Duke of Kent. Almost one of his last letters was to the Prince congratulating him on the coming birth of an heir, in the early years of whose reign the ideal of colonial government was at last to be realized.

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## CHAPTER 1.

## GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Travel in the eighteenth century was an ordeal which people endured only when necessity compelled them to go abroad. The ocean highways were then traversed chiefly by the navy, colonials or merchant mariners whose calling took them to distant markets overseas. As religious and political persecution subsided, men preferred to dwell within the quiet security of their family fireside rather than adventure forth into unknown lands. It was not until the closing decades of the century that a strong tendency to emigrate again came to the fore in Britain.

Though the average Englishman gave little thought to the outposts of the homeland, not so the shrewd and enterprising merchants who dined and supped at the coffee houses in Threadneedle Street. There, and in the old and mellow taverns of England's seaport towns, they met to discuss the romance and adventure of eighteenth century commerce. Interwoven in the


NEW BRUNSWICK
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
CUMBERLAND CY.
COLCHESTER
ANNAPOLIS COUNTY
KING CY.
HANTS CY.
DISTRICT OF PICTOU
CAPE BRETON IS.
NOVA SCOTIA
LUNENBURG CY.
QUEEN'S CY.
SHELBURNE COUNTY
HALIFAX COUNTY